

semper floreat



**the lost revolution
cowen pollution
vietnam acid and
eldridge cleaver**

letters

the free press

The Editor,
Semper Floreat,
Dear Sir,

Over the past year or so I have written five letters to the Courier Mail expressing my opinion on the Indochina war. None of them was published because they expressed an opinion which is contrary to the Courier Mail's policy. This is an example of how the Courier Mail, which is the main source of "information" for many people in Queensland, suppresses opposing viewpoints.

Not all newspapers are as bad as the Courier Mail. Many will publish letters expressing the viewpoints contrary to the paper's editorial policy. But even this is a fairly small concession. These newspapers employ "expert" commentators to write articles on Australian and overseas politics. Usually they only employ commentators who agree with the newspaper owners' opinions. It is difficult for a person of differing opinions to argue against these "experts" within the limited space allowed for a letter to the editor.

Most newspaper owners, being wealthy are biased against certain political ideas—e.g. socialism, revolution, etc. This is reflected in the editorial policy of the paper, and in the kind of people who are employed as editors, subeditors, commentators, etc.

Below are a couple of examples of letters which the Courier Mail refused to publish.

(1) CAMBODIA

The Editor,
The Courier Mail,
Dear Sir,

Denis Warner, in an article published in the Courier Mail on Saturday, presented Cambodia's Lon Nol in a favourable light. He implied, on the basis of the people's reaction to Cambodian troops in one area of the country last April, that Lon Nol is popular but the Viet Cong and Cambodian rebel forces are not.

Yet Richard Dudman, an American reporter captured by the rebel forces last May, gave an entirely different impression in his series of articles, written after his release, some of which were also published in the Courier Mail.

He reported that the American and South Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia had aroused great resentment, because of the destructiveness of American bombing and the looting being carried out by the South Vietnamese troops.

"Everywhere, a spontaneous cooperation between the peasants and the Cambodian guerrillas, as well as the North Vietnamese or Viet Cong... the common fear of the bombing and the eruption of war following the American and South Vietnamese intervention have cemented the tacit alliance between the people of the rice paddies and the guerrillas".

Lon Nol's government is naturally blamed for allowing the American's and the South Vietnamese into the country.

Another point which we should remember, before we admire the Lon Nol government too much is its treatment of the Vietnamese minority in Cambodia. Hundreds of thousands of people, most of whom had

lived in Cambodia all their lives, were deported. Hundreds were murdered.

* The final article in the series was not published (or at least I could not find it). Perhaps the Courier Mail's editor suddenly realised what was in the articles!

** The quotation comes from the Sunday Review, 18.10.70.

Chris Slee

(2)

ATROCITIES IN SOUTH VIETNAM

The Editor
The Courier Mail.

Dear Sir,

Mr Brian Mullins (10.2.71) mentioned the alleged massacre of 4,000 people by the Viet Cong in the city of Hue in 1968, and complained that it has been ignored by the Australian press.

I am not convinced that Mr Mullins' figures are accurate. While some people were undoubtedly killed by the Viet Cong in Hue, I suspect that the South Vietnamese government has taken the opportunity to blame the Viet Cong for nearly all the deaths of people in the battle for Hue.

The American reporter Robert Shaplen, who visited the city shortly after the battle, reported that "Nearly four thousand civilians were killed in Hue, most of them by the American air and artillery attacks". Much of the city was left in ruins by the bombing.

But even if Mr. Mullins were correct in blaming the Viet Cong for all these deaths, the Hue massacre would still not be comparable with the atrocities carried out by the Americans and the South Vietnamese government.

Not only is the killing of civilians by soldiers common, as is shown by the testimony at the My Lai trial, but the systematic bombing and defoliation carried out by the Americans is a continuing atrocity.

Mainly as a result of bombing and defoliation, five million people have been forced to become refugees, according to an estimate by Don Luce and John Sommer, two young Americans who were voluntary aid workers in South Vietnam for many years. (See their book "Vietnam: the unheard voices", page 170).

These continuing atrocities have received very little attention in the Australian press.

Similarly, little attention was given to the injustices which caused the revolution in South Vietnam—for example the lack of land reform, ex-President Diem's violation of the Geneva Agreements, his refusal to cooperate in holding the elections which were intended to re-unite North and South Vietnam, and his persecution of all his political opponents.

The press ignores or derides the National Liberation Front's stated aims of free elections, reconciliation with its opponents, land reform, etc. Yet most Australian newspapers give credence to the alleged democratic intentions of Thieu and Ky, who have imprisoned people in the infamous "tiger cages" to Con Son prison merely for advocating peace.

C. W. Slee

abortion

17-3-71.

Dear Sir,

To Mr. Eric Croswell (S.F. Vol. 41 No. 1) it would appear that the abortion of a living foetus is merely a surgical act, no different from any other operation.

Mr. Croswell, writing for the Abortion Law Reform Association of Qld. is but one of the many people attempting to amend the statutory law in respect of "crimes which have no victim" (my quote) Other reforms now receiving publicity include prostitution, homosexuality and pornography.

I accept and endorse the idea that a government must not legislate in respect of human activity which affects neither an individual nor society in general. In regard to prostitution, homosexuality and pornography, any liberal must concede that the government of a state has no right to intervene, except in regard to the normal and reasonable limitations of that activity (e.g. legislation of homosexual acts between consenting adults IN PRIVATE ONLY). To achieve government disinterest in the various activities, I would support the embodying of a Bill of Rights in the Federal Constitution.

But in regard to all of this, Mr. Croswell, as with many others, attempts to place abortion in the same category as "crimes without victims". This presents varied possibilities, indeed. If a foetus is NOT to be regarded as a human being, is it correct to assume that Mr. Croswell would permit an abortion up until the moment of birth?

Surely this is an untenable proposition. Where is the limit. Since abortion MAY involve the killing of innocent human beings (and I believe it does) surely it is fundamental that Mr. Croswell demonstrate quite clearly and unequivocally that abortion does not involve such killing. Surely the element of doubt which exists is sufficient to prevent us from committing possible murder.

Or is Mr. Croswell prepared to allow even one(1) innocent person die at the hands of a scalpel so that millions of mothers can lead a care-free life?

Abortion law reform is a shame. No government should be influenced, by groups claiming, that it is a mother's civil right to have or not to have her child. Is it a mother's right whether she shoots her 7 year old daughter, or a father's right whether he stabs his son in the back, "because it was his civil right to do so".

An unborn child is a child. He can't talk, He can't see. He can't do much; but is living just as much as you or I.

I believe that the moment of conception is the point of time when a new human being is created, and until Mr. Croswell can demonstrate otherwise, I will support a government or any group which opposes abortion law "reform".

Finally, to reiterate, to you Mr. Croswell and supporters, if a foetus is not a human being, would you support an abortion say 1 hour before birth or 10 minutes—how about 10 seconds.

Paul G. Tully
Union Councillor

easy money?

Dear Sir,

In answer to a newspaper ad I rang an anonymous company which, remaining anonymous, gave me a time for an interview. The interview turned out to be a meeting of about twenty people. We were told that it was unexpected that so many should answer the advertisement. (The ad ran for some time after that and I was later told by the boss that an average of twenty people came to the "first interview"). We would therefore all be spoken to together and each of us would then have a short interview with the manager (I think that was his title) and we were to ring back at 1.00 p.m. to find out if we had the job. The short interview consisted of saying with great gusto that I was interested in the job and of being given the phone number. When I rang back I was told to wait a minute—there was a pause—and the line ran something like: "I've got good news for you, Roger. You've been accepted. Welcome aboard!" I would like to know how many people were not accepted. Six turned up the next day, and one of them could not write any faster than an early primary school pupil and could not read his own writing.

The company was Crowell Collier & MacMillan, publishers of MacMillan's student encyclopaedia.

At the initial meeting we were told that the job did not involve selling and that there was a weekly wage of \$75.00. (Both had been stated in the advertisement). We were also

told that we would do ten days training and that we would go onto the payroll on the fourth day.

At the end of the third day we were told that payment was to be by commission during the first week (while we were being trained) and that at the end of that week we could choose between commission and wage. I complained that this was not what we had been told and that we had been deliberately deceived; but they said I had jumped to a conclusion in thinking that because the job involved a wage and because payment started on the fourth day, the wage started on the fourth day. Payment did start on the fourth day, and there was a wage, they said, but the two facts were unrelated.

I left.

How can they pay commission if there is no selling involved? It was not selling, it was advertising: you gave some family an encyclopaedia as an advertisement, only if they agreed to take the Year Book and the reference service for ten years for \$53.75 a year. If I ever buy an encyclopaedia, I shall buy it retail. It might be cheaper.

Roger F. Boyd.

\$TUDENT\$

If you would like
to earn \$150 a month
part-time, phone 51 5229
for interview—Miss Doyle.

— HIRE —

Anna Marie and David Jones:

Beautiful wedding, bridesmaids,
evening frocks, modern lounge,
dinner suits, tails, accessories.

Commerce House (above Coles),
125 Adelaide Street, tel. 21 2826.



right on

David Lewis

apartheid:

Before everyone gets caught up in the moral outrage—direct action—conscience satisfaction cycle over the apartheid issue, it might be helpful to look at a few facts (if anyone is still interested in such old-fashioned things) of the South African political situation. If people are seriously concerned about apartheid (and I am) they might at least be expected to consider whether their proposed activities are going to help get rid of that system or not.

The fashionable anti-apartheid tactic employed in foreign countries at present is to have sporting and cultural exchanges with South Africa stopped completely—by force if necessary. It would appear that this sort of activity, even where objectionable features such as force are not employed, is doing nothing whatever to overthrow the system.

Mrs. Helen Suzman is the only M.P. of the South African Progressive Party. She and her party are vigorously opposed to and campaign against apartheid in all its forms. It is people like her who present the most realistic possibility of having the system changed, and her opinions therefore deserve considerable attention and respect. She has stated that anti-apartheid activity in foreign countries, especially in relation to sporting exchanges, does nothing but strengthen the pro-apartheid forces inside South Africa. She maintains that people like Peter Hain (the British anti-apartheid leader) are making her task close to impossible.

When it is considered that those such as the progressive Party opposing the system of apartheid from within South Africa have been gaining public support there (note the significantly improved vote of that party in last year's elections) it ought to be clear that outsiders in sympathy with those objectives should be taking pains not to make their task any more difficult. If that means one less issue over which you can have an emotionally satisfying demonstration, that is something which you ought be prepared, in the interests of the suppressed races, to put up with.

The bona fides of those agitating on this issue might be questioned on another ground. If suppression of racial groups is the real substance behind the calls for action, then presumably this should be applied universally wherever such suppression manifests itself. One could make out quite a substantial list of such countries, including for example Tanzania (for failing to take any action over Zanzibar's treatment of Asians), Malaysia (preferences for Malays) and the Soviet Union (the abominable treatment of minority groups, especially Jews). The anti-apartheid activists are silent on these countries.

In Australia recently, for example, we have seen the Moscow Circus, the Russian Ballet, the Moscow Dynamos (who are jeered when they take the field in Russia because of their affiliations with the state) and a Soviet "student" delegation (ages from 28 to 45). The Jews made a small non-destructive protest, but student support was noticeably absent. There has been no student outcry. In fact, the welcome was quite warm.

If the individual wishes to protest against any tour, that is his right. But he has no right to disrupt or force the cancellation of tours, for he is thereby infringing the rights of others to decide for themselves whether they wish to view the sport or not. Too many people in this institution act as if they have some sort of divine right. And often it isn't the kings, but the fools.

a. u. s.

The Australian Union of Students wants to go even further, of course, with its call for funds to support liberation movements in South Africa (See Semper Floreat 10/3/71). When this matter was raised at February A.U.S. Council, an amendment to exclude the rise of such funds for purchasing arms was rejected.

The first question that this raised is whether or not A.U.S. has any right whatever to pass motions on political questions on behalf of students. A.U.S. is designed as a national student body, and its proper role is to involve itself in matters relevant to the student experience. Its office bearers are not elected to pursue political programmes outside this field, even if a majority of students supports them. It is simply the abuse of an organisation to do so. If any student wishes to support a political cause that is his prerogative. I object to paying compulsory fees to A.U.S. to support the politics of the A.U.S. elite, whether or not I agree with the subject matter of the proposals, I want a specific choice over which political cause I finance, and I want my fees to A.U.S. to be spent on educational and student problems—not the pet cause of A.U.S. office bearers.

Apart from the objection to A.U.S. spending student funds (directly or indirectly) to finance any political organisation, there is the more specific objection to the use to which such funds are to be put. It has not been demonstrated that, as A.U.S. claims, violence is the only method likely to succeed in the South African context. The A.U.S. motion claims to give support to any movement with, on the face of it, no equivocation about whether the movement is internal or external, nor any concern to see that such a movement does not simply set up the tyranny in reverse.

Further, the whole motion shows up the inconsistency and mala fides of much of the A.U.S. elite. They object to the Vietnam War, partly on the grounds of what they see as foreign interference in the domestic affairs of another nation; yet when it suits them they are quite happy to be agents of foreign interference themselves. And they too suffer from the same kind of selective moral outrage mentioned earlier—there are plenty of other nations whose record of suppression and entrenched evil are just as putrid, but they seem to cause hardly a ripple of comment.

Whether the dubious honour of affiliation with A.U.S. is worth \$12,000 of student's money annually ought be seriously reconsidered.

semper the negative newspaper was once again botched by barden, davis, kenway & co.

also responsible for the chaos are central art and type, not to forget grant printing company.

'INSPECT'—AGAINST POLLUTION

Co-ordinated by the A.C.T. branch of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, which has already run a successful programme in Canberra in 1970, the Inspect programme is going ahead in Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. The organising body here is the Queensland Conservation Council. Although inspired by the highly successful American 'Earth Day' of April 22nd, Inspect is more a scientific than a political campaign. (It is, in fact, an acronym of Inquiry in the State of Pollution and Environmental Conservation by Thoughtful people.) It will, however, be followed up in September by the complementary Earth Day organised by the Wildlife Preservation Societies of Australia.

The central idea will be a series of projects and surveys, and a photographic competition, within high schools, covering topics within the three broad themes: problems of the automobile, improving the use of non-renewable resources, and management of the coastal environment. Seminars and discussions on results of these projects will occur on and around the nation-wide culmination date of June 4th.

We are seeking the help of both students and staff of this University. Some may be able to conduct projects of their own; for instance a group of veterinary students has gained the co-operation of several departments in a project assaying levels of pollutants in fish from the Brisbane River. Those who cannot undertake projects, but are knowledgeable in any of the fields covered, may act as 'experts' to advise high school students on their projects and help interpret results.

Any one who is interested in helping, whether you think you can be of use or not, is invited to contact Miss Edwina Butt (ph. 40 7521) or Miss Eileen Beswick, c/- the Physiology Department (ext 8130).

BYE BYE DOUGIE

As he finally flounced out of office Doug Jones paused just long enough to issue statements to almost everybody except the acting President. Making full use of the objective, value-free orientation of THE COURIER-MAIL (see our letters to the editor), he managed to malign most of his colleagues on Union with his own peculiar brand of petulant innuendo. Unfortunately Dougie got so carried away with his act that he somehow forgot to include his resignation in the four and a half page statement that was presumably issued in an attempt to upstage Cowen's recent publicity.

It is to Dougie's credit however that only he could pull off an act with such wide audience appeal. He bowed out—assuming he has—to applause from both right and left wings.

CAMPUS CAMP

Until the formation of Camp Inc. in Sydney recently, there were no organisations in Australia specifically for homosexuals. Now Gay Pride has come to the University primarily to provide social contacts between homosexuals, both male and female, and to provide a venue for the interchange of ideas and information about homosexuality. Official recognition for Campus Camp is being sought; and the inaugural meeting will be in the Green Room of the Union Theatre at 7p.m. Wednesday 31st March.

Confidential inquiries—CAMPUS CAMP

c/- U. of Q. Union.

MORE FUND-RAISING

Gorton-fashion, the University has begun to clamp down on spending. The new lecturer in Journalism I (now elevated to degree status, more in an effort to get funds than as an attempt to dispense education) will not set foot on our fair soil until April. Attempts were made to advise him of the somewhat earlier start to the Australian academic year, but were waylaid by postal strikes and the Uni's refusal to foot the phone bill.

The 130 students are doubtless getting their money's worth in the meantime, however. Of the four textbooks set, two are out of print, and were so when set. There is one copy in the main Library for the unlimited use of what by and large are evening students. Another of the set texts is "unavailable" at the bookshop.

And to add insult to injury, George Blaikie of the COURIER-MAIL is interim lecturer.

BUSINESS AS BLOODY USUAL

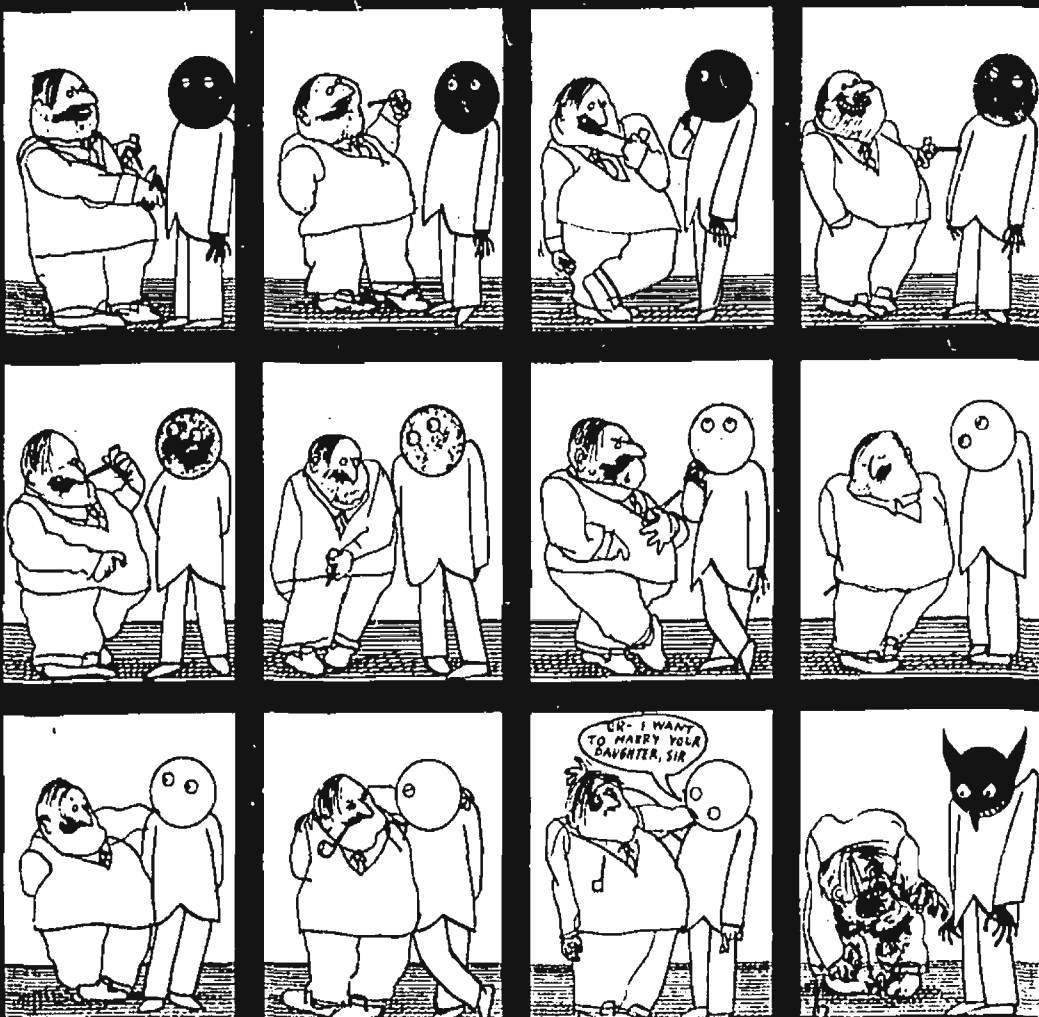
According to Smiling Sam Rayner, the "University does not object in general to the distribution of leaflets outside a building (his emphasis) since it recognizes that much discussion takes place through the distribution of leaflets." It does, of course, object in certain specific instances—such as distribution inside a building. So we find Jim Prentice up on another disciplinary charge for attempting to take the odd discussion back into the buildings. Obviously an expensive way for him to force the University into admitting the irrelevance of its classrooms. And for those who are alive to such ironies, old Zelmo has just authorized the issuing of a pamphlet instructing staff on how to cope with an "invasion" of "their" buildings.

WILMOTTS OF ST. LUCIA DRIVEWAY

Specialists in B.M.C.
FORD
HOLDEN
V.W.

Major Brake Overhauls
Front End Alignment
Automatic Band Adjustments
All Major Overhauls

GAILEY RD., ST. LUCIA
tel. 71 1173 a/h 78 3073.



COWEN

as he seems

The Interview

MARRIOTT: You seem, at least publicly, to be less happy here than you were at New England. If this is the case, why?

V.C.: I think the important question is why I should feel unhappy in Queensland. I suppose all through a long academic life I've lived with trust. I've worked very hard. I've enjoyed, I suppose virtually everything I ever did. But all of a sudden I encounter violent ugliness, a level and a pattern of discourse, which I've never experienced before. I went out on a number of occasions at the request of student groups to talk, to participate. Every one ended in frustration, in intellectual nothingness. It all seemed to me that it was a manoeuvre. I found next that the group to whom I spoke were groups which spoke only for themselves in the University, the rest of the University had no responsiveness at all and was not a sounding board in any way. Then, I found in the latter part of the year a degeneration of the situation. The beastly behaviour, the idiot behaviour of being pulled out of bed on a scare, the intrusion on my family life, all the nonsense calls the vandalism, the vandalizing of pictures, the smashing... I knew it was a

fringe thing, but it was poisonous to the university and all of these things compounded the situation and produced unhappiness.

MARRIOTT: Do you associate the vandalism, the intrusion into your family completely with the radicalism that you are faced with among students.

V.C.: How can I know? But what I suspect is that this isn't the activity of all students in a group. I couldn't think like that, it's not in my pattern of thinking. I think that there are groups of students who attract fringe dwellers. And the fringe dwellers are not people of mind or intellect. They express their activities in the sort of things that I've been speaking about.

MARRIOTT: In America, in Britain this sort of thing has been going on. You do give the appearance of being surprised. Do you see it as something more widespread than Queensland itself?

V.C.: Well as a matter of experience—I can't answer personally. Between 1949 and the mid-sixties there was concern with a number of issues—for example, the issue of apartheid. I'm opposed to apartheid, I have been involved in issues relating to conservation, to

urban planning, a number of these things. But all through the time that I was on the, particularly in Melbourne, there was nothing like the sort of thing that we've been talking about. I've been involved in this sort of thing all my life but there was nothing of the sort of thing that you describe, the sort of thing I saw last year.

MARRIOTT: And Monash and Sydney?

V.C.: Yes Monash and Sydney, I hear what you say but you were asking about my own experience. When I left Melbourne in 1966, I didn't really know what was going on at Monash in those days. It was beginning... but I can tell you exactly what it was, historically speaking, at that point of time.

MARRIOTT: You don't feel in any way then—it's not a very satisfactory phrase though—in loco parentis?

V.C.: It depends on what you mean by in loco parentis. I should have thought you would know pretty clearly what my view of in loco parentis is. I've written a great deal about this as articulately as I could. What I say is that the University is not in loco parentis. When you're talking about discipline in loco parentis rules wouldn't apply. Therefore, I have to say that it's a matter of principle that students must go to Heaven or Hell their own way. But having said that, as a matter of university law or "philosophy" I would say that I believe with Richard Hoggart who says in a very perceptive piece that I read recently that because of what I am as a man—not as vice chancellor—who has spent his life in universities, who's had a diversity of experience inside and outside them that I can be a useful adviser to students if they want it. If they don't it's their business. Once you propound the proposition that in loco parentis has no place as a matter of law in the university, you don't necessarily maintain that you are indifferent to the problems of students. It's to make a jump that is indefensible.

MARRIOTT: What kind of year do you think this is going to be? Do you think that the more radical nature of this year's union will make any difference?

V.C.: Well first I have to answer that in financial terms. It's going to be one of the most difficult years, a year in which I have to fight very hard for resource for the university. This is something that demands a great deal of my attention and I've already said a lot about it. We're in a very difficult situation and this will involve us in making judgments about the growth of the university. I think we can do something now that we haven't done before—we've got to ask what sort of activity, what line, what development the University must pursue. These are terribly important questions for the future. Decisions on these matters are going to transcend in importance anything that happens in the next few months or years. These are going to consume my energies—they have already consumed my energies. I want to get ahead with the problems as best I can. The problem I find baffling is why this isn't a livelier place culturally and intellectually. I want to do everything I can to encourage involvement

in cultural and kindred activities. The theatre in this Uni is an example. Now I come to your question what sort of a year do I see it in terms of the things you are talking about. The sort of things you are talking about are not the central problems in my mind. But obviously they are matters of concern, it's a poisonous thing to me that if I go anywhere all that people seem to talk to me about is the problems of the university. It's a terrible thing—it is the thing that makes me really unhappy. I'm not asked what plans are there for this place, what do you want to do, what do you want to shape... These are the things that I'm thinking about and worrying about. But the moment I go anywhere I'm asked these questions... Have you had any disorder, have you had any trouble, has anyone made an animal noise at you. That's the image that people have of this university and it's a terrible thing and we, the whole university, are largely to blame for it. But I go back and I answer you—I don't know what sort of a year it's going to be. I've got my hands full, I'm working at many things. As far as the union is concerned David Luck and I have had a series of very serious talks. I want a Union leadership that I can respect and from what I've seen in David Luck, while we may not agree on all issues I respect his very real concern for his job and for the university.



Further Thoughts

A RIGHT CHANNEL TO GO UP

A subcommittee of the University Improvements Committee has FOR TWELVE MONTHS been arranging a series of talks and discussions on 'The Role of the University'. A new subcommittee chaired by Dr. John Atherton now proposes lunchtime and evening meetings in (say) week ending June 26th 1971, subject to Zelmo's favour and availability. Our learned V.C. will probably be asked to participate in a plenary session on Saturday morning—but the hastling about the speakers, topics, location, and modes of discussion has hardly begun.

Considering that at one stage it took 6 weeks for the committee to get a meeting with Zelmo and that Zelmo's participation still has to be discussed with him, we will be lucky to have these sessions in 1971.

and as he is

When the appointment of the new vice-chancellor was announced in late 1969, the Selection Committee's choice was welcomed by many members of the university community. The stagnating interregnum of E. Hartley Teakle had devastated campus life. Those who thought it deserved resuscitation were pleased that this kindly, but foolish and deeply reactionary old man was at last to vacate the pinnacle of university power. The pragmatists were glad that the new vice-chancellor would be free of the vast interlocking network of debts, obligations, alliances and feuds that enmeshed the Webbs, the Greenwoods, the local mediocrities that contested the position. The liberal reformist, disturbed by the crude threats of repression that the Senate wrung out of Teakle, looked for someone who could articulate the kind of forceful, comprehensive arguments which, they felt, would be sufficient to make the radical minority pack its bookstall and vanish. The bureaucrats welcomed the prospect of a thorough, creative, efficient administrator—and of the advancement which had been impossible for the previous few years. In a massive collective act of wishful thinking, they spun from *The Private Man* an enormous liberal reputation, and buried Cowen within it the moment he set foot on Queensland soil. For a while he played the part. He recited the right phrases, ordered multiple copies of *Up the Right Channels*, and, ever-smiling, assured everyone he meant no one no harm. As recent events have made clear, he has finally struggled to the surface.

Things are very different now. Over the past six months, radical staff members have been dismissed or threatened with discipline; students have been suspended; radical activists have been barred from campus because it was "felt" their presence was not in the university's (i.e. Cowen's) "best interests." In recent weeks, even the distribution of pamphlets has been the cause of disciplinary action against students. The new disciplinary statute gives harsh, arbitrary power to the vice-chancellor—including a "guilty till proved innocent" power to suspend. These are not isolated incidents; rather, they are part of a systematic scheme to ensure that dissent from Cowen's rule is expressed only in the occasional demurrer from the Union rep. on the Combined Advisory Committee, or perhaps in gentleman to gentleman discussions over a whisky at the Staff Club. One benefit to be salvaged from this situation is that the mutual flirtation between Cowen and the liberals has been ended by the naked

ruthlessness of his repression. It is a matter of regret that, instead of fighting the man as their principles should have them do, they shrink back, frightened, to their professional rooms and committees, where they sit trembling and breathless, wondering where Cowen's complaint will strike next.

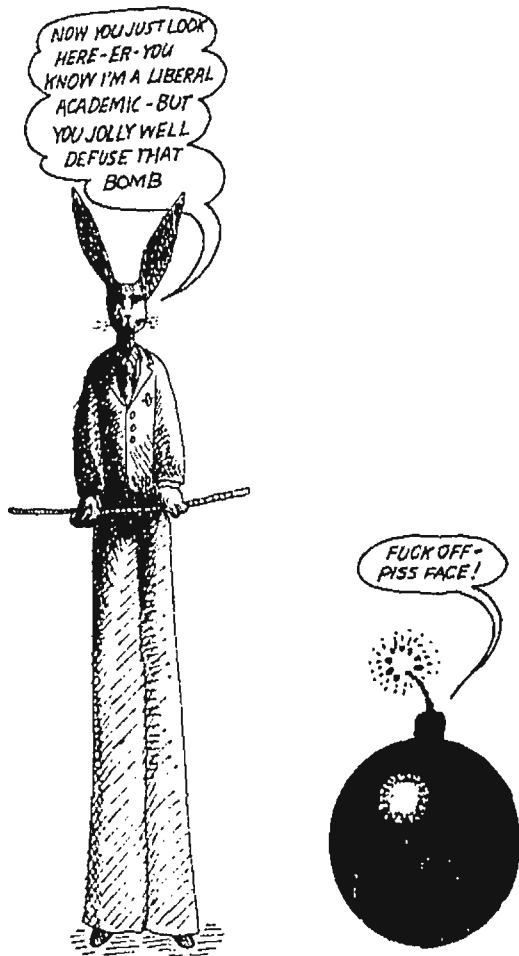
The ugliness of Zelman Cowen's politics is especially manifest in his Annual Report and in his more recent press utterances. Although the facts of the University's financial situation are fairly well known at this stage, they deserve reiteration in brief. Over the past twelve months, two pay rises have cut into university resources: a salary rise for the academic staff (\$900,000), and a wage rise for the non-academic staff (\$450,000). In addition to these, a house has been built for the vice-chancellor at a cost of \$80,000. Other building programmes have proceeded. For the immediate future, construction of the Western Arts building and the Undergraduate library are proceeding, and funds have been committed to them. A further sum of \$200,000, obtained from the State and Commonwealth governments, has been committed to the Great Hall. It will be appreciated that all of these involve spending of a rather large order. Unfortunately, Zelman's spree coincided with the effects of John Grey Gorton's rather peculiar theories of economics. The effect of inflation and the cut-back in government spending have meant that little money is available for universities. Looking for a face-saving way of accounting for the university's shortage, and not wanting to criticize the governments, Cowen hit upon the idea of blaming it all on the wage rises of the non-academic staff. He has never lost an opportunity to announce this to the press, and in his Annual Report, he writes that the "wages bill for non-academic staff" is responsible.

The hypocrisy of this position has been well enough argued. There is, however, a point which is perhaps more important. When Cowen refers to the "difficult times", "desperate plight", "enormous financial problems", etc., and then attributes them to wage rises of non-academic staff, there is a clear implication which goes beyond the purely verbal message. He is saying that the wage rises have harmed the university; he is implying that for the good of the university, these people should not have been given wage rises. In a similar vein, when the national wage increase was handed down in December, Cowen hastened to add his voice to the big business chorus which was decrying the decision. Again, he was saying only that the decision harmed the university;

but given the timing and circumstances of his comments, his implications clearly was that the increase was too much; it should not have been given. Cowen talks of "fighting very hard to find resource for the university." It is significant that the fight has begun against the workers employed by the university, a desperate fight to keep wages as low as possible.

The second fight, which indirectly but just as surely is far "resource", is against the left-wing forces on campus. It, too, is carried on in the pages of Cowen's report and of the daily press. The section of the report which deals with radical students makes interesting reading, for it is in such marked contrast with the liberal idea of "rational debate". Cowen presents no arguments against the radical's ideas—he merely vilifies the people. Again, he seeks to undermine their legitimacy by denying their right to have a view of the university or the political process which is not substantially the same as his own. It need hardly be pointed out that this is fundamentally opposed to the liberal attitude of acknowledging the university's right to hold whatever view he may, even though one is opposed to that view. And finally there is a clear prejudice against any form of political communications other than the "right channels"—a bizarre stand for a liberal with pretended interests in the problems of modern mass society.

What, then, is Cowen's purpose in all of this? What are his plans for the university? We need look no further than his public statements, to the effect that the university must serve the community; and when we recall his statements that "closer relationships with industry are desirable," and recall his meetings with groups of businessmen last year, then it is obvious just which community he wishes the university to serve. His plan is two-pronged: to smash the radicals; and to execute an impressive building programme as quickly as possible. The first makes the university "secure"; the second gives it the prestige and the bigness which Cowen so desperately needs to impress big business. (It is no coincidence that one of the uses of the Great Hall is that of convention centre.) The university will become even more tightly bound to the corporations, the university gaining "resource" in return for it becoming a research station and employee induction centre for the big corporations. This relationship, of course, is implicit in every educational institution in countries with a capitalist mode of production. It is Cowen's



particular talent that he has seized upon the development and strengthening of this relationship as a conscious policy, to the exclusion of all other policy goals. Not for nothing did Comalco include him in its recent share issue!

Cowen knows how to blend schmalz with his chutzpah. "If you prick me, do I not bleed?" he asks, as he tells us how sad/unhappy/tired/hardworking he is in his attempt to solve the problems "we" are facing. It is to be hoped that these qualities take him speedily to the next stage of his career—perhaps to the High Court, or the Diplomatic Corps, where his bureaucratic reactionism will be of far less consequence than it is in the University of Queensland.



Typing, Theses, done at home.
Reasonable rates.
Miss Lynne Duncanson - 97. 2445

TYPING—theses, essays, etc.—
reasonable rates—"Our Other Office",
3 Gladstone Road, Highgate Hill,
near Brisbane State High.
PHONE 44 4669.

VARSITY MILK BAR
and Coffee Lounge

American-style hamburgers,
Teas and snacks,
Freshly-cut sandwiches.

St. Lucia Village
tel. 71 1393

ST. LUCIA FISH SUPPLY

famous for

STEAKBURGERS,
ALL SEAFOODS,
CIGARETTES,
COLD DRINKS.

St. LUCIA VILLAGE,
Ph. 70 1908.

A RADICAL CRITIQUE OF LEFT REVOLUTIONISM.

One cannot approach this subject without considerable misgivings. Whatever the intentions or substance of what is written, it is bound to be regarded as just another example of the bickering that has so characterized the left on this Campus. But a critical appraisal of what went on last year is absolutely necessary if we are to avoid the mistakes of the past.

If there was anything that characterized the early part of last year, it was the fact that for the first time a very large section of the Campus was in a radical mood. This was exemplified by the comparatively massive turnouts for both the Moratoria, the appearance and good reception of 'Up the Right Channels', and the victory in the Union elections of Left and Left-leaning candidates in straight ideological contests. Radical ideas had penetrated nearly every area of the University; thus even the once staid Medical Society could declare itself in favour of the Moratorium; and the former bastions of anti-intellectualism, the Colleges, the Regiment, and the Sporting Clubs, had lost their pernicious influence on the conduct of University life as a result of the sheer derision with which they were regarded by the rest of the Campus. By the end of the year things had radically (sic) altered; the events of the Moratorium had nurtured a paranoid bitterness and an unhealthy cynicism about the possibilities of achieving ends through common endeavour that had never existed before within the Left; the possible long term effects of URC were ignored for illconceived shortsighted attempts at 'direct action', such that the movement we created never got off the ground; the newly elected Lefties in the Union had virtually installed themselves as a new Establishment, taking over positions with the same intolerance that characterized the former Establishment; and most ominous of all was the replacement of Right-wing anti-intellectualism and hooliganism by their Left-wing counterparts, "socialist chauvinism" and left abuse and invective (individuals who formerly satisfied their neurotic needs through the now Obsolete Commem antics had a Left-wing Alternative!).

Thus it is with more than just irritation that one attempts to find out what happened to the movement that at one time looked so hopeful. What has become of us that we no longer exhibit the humanitarianism and idealism of vision that characterized the movement that was going to bring about the Revolution? We have blown the chance. It now remains for the more tenacious of us to start again. The remnants of the Movement still exist in emasculated form. Once such remnant takes the form of the pop-drug, so called, "counter culture", made up of the allegedly creative individuals. In fact they create nothing more than new markets and amusing advertising gimmicks for capitalist enterprise. What we are witnessing is not the making of a true counter culture but the creation of a new class—The lumpen bourgeoisie.

The other child of the Movement is the syndrome of Revolutionism. This is best described as a state of mind that is characterized not so much by a notion that Revolution is no end in itself, as the feeling that since Revolution is inherently unattainable the acting out of Revolutionary rhetoric is an end in itself. I say this because I believe that the actions that have been carried out by those who call themselves Revolutionaries would not have been carried out in the manner they were, if there existed any real belief that Revolution was in fact possible. The self-imposed label of "Revolutionary" has become an article of faith to distinguish from "Non-revolutionaries" and as such its only value is liturgical satisfaction. When any action is contemplated, an immediate distinction is made between 'a revolutionary act' and a 'liberal-reformist' act; whether the results of the action are revolutionary or not (or counter productive) is never

considered; it matters only that the act was carried out according to the 'correct revolutionary line'. Nothing better exemplifies this state of mind than the refrain (on questioning): "If it happened in France in 1968, it can happen here." What did happen in France? One of the striking things about the May events in France is the fact that the Revolution failed. I am not suggesting that what occurred is not of great importance to Socialists; I merely intimate that a political position that looks to a failure as a model for action betrays a bizarre concept of Revolution. (No less bizarre, perhaps, than to look at the Russian Revolution and its results as a desirable model.)

REVOLUTIONISM AND THE EN-NAZIFICATION OF DISSENT:

Before Moratorium 1, a pamphlet appeared which demanded "the de-nazification of dissent". It was a call to remove control of tactics and form of demonstrations from centralised committees and vest the same with the people partaking in the action as a body. I am in full agreement with this concept; but the startling fact that emerged from the two Moratoria was that those who had been advocating the democratisation of dissent were only willing to put suggestions to mass meetings if they were certain the motions would be carried. Those who had derided "centralism" and advocated "workers' control" exercised the most cynical disregard for the wishes of others that I have ever had the misfortune to observe. On the March of May 8th, a mass meeting of students having decided overwhelmingly not to stage a sit-down in Queens Street (while recognising the rights of all groups to choose their own forms of protest), two attempts were made to take control of the March. Both were foiled only by the refusal of those already in front to follow. It would appear that the revolutionary heroes were unwilling to do their own thing without the numerical strength of the liberal reformists.

Moratorium 2, was to reveal in greater depth how authoritarian certain sections of the left had become. This time after considerable trouble we were able to persuade Trade Union and A.L.P. members of the Moratorium Committee that the final decision whether to stage a sit-down or not should indeed be made by a mass meeting of all participants after the student column had joined the others in the city Forum at Roma Street. Presumably it would then not be necessary for the Revolutionists to force a sit-down! On this occasion the student delegation (having earlier voted to submit to the Roma Street Forum a proposal for a ten minute sit-down) arrived at Roma Street with the revolutionary vanguard at the fore. No debate or vote was allowed at the Forum, instead the enlightened helmsmen of the people led a very confused March down Adelaide Street to stage their abortive fiasco of a sit-down. No amount of rambling about mythical trade unionists in yellow ties ordering the marchers not to stop at the Forum (since when did revolutionary students obey trade union bureaucrats?) will convince me that what occurred was not a cynically conceived and deliberately executed plan to force if not stampede the overwhelming majority of marchers into taking the sort of radical action those at the head of the march had deemed to be appropriate. In the general invective and abuse that followed the incident, the one thing that sticks in my mind is Kim Bannikoff's incredibly childish statement to me, to the effect that as a student I should be on the side of the students and not the workers—so much for the worker-student alliance!

One hesitates to proceed further with this wretched tale, but having returned to the Forum for the final call to the people, members of R.S.S.A. proceeded to surround the speaker dias (it appears they were demanding an open Forum!) and in a series of highly charged speeches proceeded to denounce other bodies participating in the Moratorium with almost the same force that

they denounced imperialism, capitalism, and neocolonialism. Perhaps the best critique of these sort of tactics comes from the person who calls himself 'Revolutionary Comrade' and who had this to say about tactics for the second Moratorium:

"Tactically a minimum task for the day should be to achieve an independent platform at the mass rallies if all we are capable of achieving is exercises in propaganda. We should take the offensive against those forces who seek to confuse the people and direct them towards parliamentarianism. To avoid the charge of sectarianism, we should declare ourselves against the war in South East Asia, but demand the right to explain why we differ with the A.L.P.—C.P.A. in their analysis of the causes. We should not attack the Moratorium of people who genuinely believe the war to be a mistake, rather we should encourage them to take part in the ideological struggle. At no time should any actions be taken which manipulate the people involved. All actions must be clearly understood by the participants, and executed with their support." (my emphasis)

The en-nazification process is more than just the forced involvement of others in so called radical action; it extends into the very philosophy of Revolutionism. (To call this en-nazification is perhaps too harsh a criticism, but the term is not of my choosing, it is theirs). The basic principle claimed by Revolutionism is not so much that the enlightened must educate and show the people the right path, but that the people must be "radicalized" both by being put into positions where a radical response is likely (such as forcing confrontation with police, etc.), or by the creation of situations where radical action on the part of a few presumably brings out the innate radical archetypes in everyone else. There are a number of fundamental theoretical objections to this position. I do not intend delineating these objections at this stage, because I am more concerned with offering a critique of Revolutionism as a behavioural trait, than with the particular political philosophy that is offered as a justification for this trait.

REVOLUTIONISM AND THE TANTRUM AS A POLITICAL WEAPON:

What has come to be called the Quang incident is a good example of the "situationalism" I outlined above, and also of that new weapon in the arsenal of Left Revolutionism—the political tantrum. What was particularly distressing about the whole affair was not so much that a person was prevented from speaking (which never occurred), or that he had been prevented from leaving (which did occur), or that the University and the Press over-reacted, but that many intelligent people on the Left and near-Left sought to justify a morally doubtful position on the grounds that the individuals concerned were in an emotional mood and morally outraged and enraged, by the impertinence of the South Vietnamese Official, when it was clearly obvious that this was not in fact what transpired. It was readily admitted by some of the participants that the whole affair was planned as a radicalizing situation, long before they had become "morally outraged." Members of the University Co-ordinating Committee (which was formed basically to bail out the participants in the Quang Incident), were even ridiculed for attempting to find extenuating circumstances on which to base a defense. That extenuating circumstances were discovered in spite of this is a tribute to the un-necessary moral inferiority complex of Left-Liberals when confronted with militant action. This inferiority complex also explains why 'situationalism' is so successful in the short term.

TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC LEFT:

When Patti Illyama spoke here about "The Coming Revolution in America", one thing that impressed me was her, and her Movements, close identification and involvement with all the different movements for social change/revolution in that country—ranging from the Student Revolution and Black Power on one hand, to anti-pollution, anti-poverty, and Womens' Lib. on the other. It was refreshing to hear someone talk about the need for Revolution and actually believe in its possibility, and who was willing to involve as many people as possible in it. The Left in Australia is in a very different position because a priori definitions of what are correct revolutionary lines have discounted a whole range of political issue for mass involvement for change, thus sparing the need for intellectual and organisational work. The Australian Left is more than lazy, it has ceased to believe that change or revolution is possible.

One looks in vain for the "patient, sober men, unburdened by pessimism about the intellect and optimism about the will", that the much quoted Antonio Gramsci demands. The major task for all Socialists now is to challenge the bourgeois hegemony over the social sciences and humanities (not to mention even the Sciences and Arts) with an alternative philosophy and methodology. This means more than slogan shouting rhetoric¹ in the class-rooms or philistine attacks on pure research or pure aesthetics. It means the replacing of the counter-revolutionary subjugation of scholarship with a truly objective scholarship.² This requires patience and dedication, but it is a task that can be accomplished because liberal scholarship has already undertaken much of the spade work³. It is my contention that the greatest power we have at the moment is the power to know and the power to reason better than our opponents. I am not suggesting that these alone will bring about the "socialist society" or the "common culture", what I am suggesting is that while these tools may not be as romantic and emotionally self-satisfying as the acting out of revolutionary rhetoric, they are more powerful and produce longer lasting effects.

What is needed on the Left today is a recommitment to the basic humanitarianism, compassion and above all the democracy of our philosophy. Socialism may or may not produce a more efficient society, and hopefully will not produce a well ordered 'correct' society; what it will produce is a decent system of social relations between men and nations, the end of class, social domination and authoritarianism, and the opportunity for every person and group to partake in the creation of "the Common Culture"⁴. We cannot hope to create that sort of society if in our strategy and tactics we contradict what is essential to our vision of man, society, and culture.

Frank Varghese.
(the author is a member of the New Left Group)

FOOTNOTES:

1. 'Revolutionary Comrade' (believed to be Brian Laver), in, "One Struggle", R.S.P. pamphlet, 1970 p 30.

2. There is a mistaken popular belief that "socialist" scholarship is utilitarian in that research is not carried out only for the sake of knowledge, and art never created solely for aesthetic qualities. This is a bourgeois concept. Socialists must defend pure research and pure art. This is not to say that the expansion of knowledge in some fields is not more beneficial to man at the moment, than expansion in other fields. But relevance is demanded by Science of itself, it must not come from ideological subjugation—revolutionary or counter-revolutionary. Ideology is entirely culturally determined but knowledge is only partly so; knowledge must therefore be independent of ideology. What we must be attacking is precisely the utilitarian concept of research and knowledge as it is embodied in the educational institutions of Capitalist Society. Whole fields of knowledge are ignored or treated with prejudice (and/or incompetence) in this University, either because research grants have been directed into lines more suitable to the academic-industrial complex or because the dominant culture of our society is loath to have its assumptions questioned, or because of plain ignorance disguised as "objectivity". It is the task of liberated scholarship to show how the assumptions of Capitalism affects the content and conclusions of the Social Sciences, and to bring about a re-examination of neglected fields of knowledge and methodology, with view to giving them their rightful place in the intellectual life of our Universities.

CONT from p6

Another mistaken notion among Revolutionists is that "objectivity" is a bourgeois concept, and that "socialist" scholarship is "non-objective". Noam Chomsky is regarded as the proponent of this doctrine. This is false. What Chomsky is arguing for is a truly objective scholarship. In fact his much quoted essay is an attack on non-objective scholarship that passes for "liberal" scholarship. He points out that much of liberal scholarship has ignored important facts and made false judgments and conclusions, because the underlying assumptions of the scholars were determined by the dominant culture i.e. Capitalism. At no time does Chomsky suggest that counter-revolutionary subjugation of scholarship should be replaced by revolutionary subjugation. Objectivity is essential for any scholarship, and more so for socialist scholarship since our analysis is based on rational and material facts. Even if it is not entirely possible, it would not be a bad thing if we based our strategy on objective and if feasible, verifiable, data. One must however retain a sense of perspective here. Objectivity is nothing more or less than a dedication to Truth; it means not faking or inventing data, not making prejudicial conclusions from available information, not succumbing to the conventional wisdom when it is in error, showing a willingness to change ones ideas when counter evidence is overwhelming, not telling lies, etc., etc. Objectivity does not mean nihilism or non-involvement. The unsubjugated pursuit of

truth must inevitably lead to the making of moral decisions and therefore political action.

3. It is a tribute to liberal scholarship that in spite of counter-revolutionary subjugation, much useful work has been carried out by those who have remained true to the rhetoric of liberalism and objectivity. While Socialists and Revolutionists have been engaged in other activity much useful and important data about Poverty, Social Stratification, and the psychology of work have been uncovered. That the scholars concerned have not followed up their findings by political analysis or action, is the fundamental contradiction of liberal scholarship.

4. The term "common culture" is used by Raymond Williams to describe a culture where variety and diversification are based on individual inclinations rather than on social status or property, and where the making of the culture is the common endeavour of everyone—no one is prevented from being a producer and creator because of a lack of possessions or social class. The important point about the "common culture" is that it is created by the common endeavour of the people themselves and not imposed from above either by Enlightened Revolutionaries (Leninist or Maoist), or Fabian Socialists or Liberal Reformers. Refs. Raymond Williams, 2 "Culture and Society 1780-1950, Penguin, 1961.

-----, Culture and Revolution: a comment, In, Eagleton, T. and Wicker, B., eds., "From Culture to Revolution", Sheed and Ward, Lond., 1968

TOWN SQUIRE

Grand Central Arcade
Queen St. Ph. 21 4925

WE GIVE STUDENTS DISCOUNTS

ORIGINAL STYLE SUITS
TAILORED TO MEASURE—SHIRTS—TROUSERS
LEVIS JEANS

ATTENTION ALL LANGUAGE STUDENTS

INTRODUCING THE NEW

SONY CASSETTE MODEL 80L

LANGUAGE LABATORY RECORDER SPECIFICALLY
DESIGNED AS A STUDENT TEACHING AID

THE SONY TL80L IS A TWIN TRACK MACHINE WITH
EXCLUSIVE INBUILT OMNIDIRECTIONAL MICROPHONE,
SPEAKER, INDEX COUNTER, AC & BATTERY OPERATION.

PRICE TO STUDENTS:

\$109.00 + tax
27½%

IF APPLICABLE

OPTIONAL EXTRA

STUDENT HEADSET & MICROPHONE

\$19.50 + tax

FOR AN ON THE SPOT DEMONSTRATION CONTACT

THE UNDERGROUND MUSIC & SOUND
UNION ARCADE



ADVANCED INSURANCE SERVICES INSURANCE CENTRE

CAMPUS INSURANCE CENTRE

BENEFITS:

(a) You have a choice of companies and as a result you will receive objective rather than subjective advice.

(b) Analysis of your insurance problems will be made by a qualified person with 17 years' experience including some years in a managerial capacity.

(c) You will not be subjected to high-pressure selling.

(d) An on-Campus Bureau offers convenience.

(e) We are a funnel through which the buying strength of so many people can be concentrated to negotiate more favourable terms and rates.

An example of benefit (e) is the main purpose of this article.

Later, I hope to write other articles. (i) on the advantages of using your local Insurance Service and (ii) illustrating the application of the many classes of Insurance and Assurance.

COLLEGE STUDENTS (in fact ALL STUDENTS)

You all have personal effects in the form of clothing and text books and, in the case of the affluent, cameras, jewellery, watches, tape recorders and musical instruments. For an insignificant premium, only cents per week, these can be insured by policies designed to meet needs peculiar to students.

"All Risks" insurance is available for items of a valuable and portable nature.

STUDENTS CAR INSURANCE

Under Age 25 Excess. Some under age 25 drivers are reckless or careless and deserve this penalty, i.e. they must pay at least the first \$50 of a claim. On the other hand, a competent, careful, young driver with good reflexes must suffer this imposition simply because of his age.

For the first time you have a CHANCE TO PROVE yourself and have this penalty gradually deleted.

HIRE PURCHASE

Most companies charge substantially higher premiums for cars under Hire Purchase Agreements. This plan allows you to buy insurance on financed cars at cash rates.

"No-Claim Bonuses". These will be allocated in the normal manner. If you have already qualified for a bonus we will make a similar allowance on the first premium.

Profit Sharing. You will be formed into syndicates based on faculties but evening students and staff can form their own groups. If your syndicate is profitable and if you have not claimed you will qualify for another bonus—a share of your syndicate's profits.

At one stage a syndicate for Les Girls was contemplated but the idea will probably be abandoned as no doubt they will prefer to be in a profitable syndicate.

Premiums. In most cases, premiums will be less than those charged by other companies.

Third Party Property. For those cars not valuable enough to warrant the cost of a full comprehensive policy, Third Party Property insurance, which covers your liability for damage to other persons' cars and property, is essential.

Once again, you can qualify for the special concessions mentioned above—lower premiums and even the profit-sharing plus a special no-claim bonus.

Remarks. With your co-operation a new chapter in Motor Vehicle Insurance can be written. Confidence and concessions are extended to a select group of young drivers. The statistics will be illuminating.

It's up to you to justify the confidence and to retain the concessions negotiated.

Advanced Insurance Services
Insurance Centre
University of Qld, Union Arcade Ph. 70 8056, 70 9704

Mr.
Name Mrs.
Miss

Address

Phone

Model and Type of Car

Value of Personal Effects

Faculty

Day or Evening

Alan Skerritt A.A.I.I., P.A.L.U.A.

WE'VE GOT MATERIAL

THAT'LL REALLY

GRAB YOUSE



university bookshop

THE HOSTAGE

directed by peter michael for unique

Democratization of Education

The Attached figures are a table of enrolments (on a Faculty basis) of students at Queensland University in 1970. These figures were collected from various sources by John Gray, a Part-Time rep. for Arts students on Union Council.

Overall, the disparities between the financial help to part-time and full-time students, is extremely obvious (and alarming.) Of 6,896 full-time undergraduate enrolments, only 31% of these students are not in receipt of some form of financial assistance, yet a staggering 91% of part-time students (enrolments total 7,562) receive no financial aid except that donated by themselves to themselves. So although there are almost 1,000 more undergrads studying part-time, only 9% of these people are financially assisted.

Therefore, any fee increase is going to hit hardest at those students already footing the bill for their own education, and most of these will be part-time students. The very reasons that a large number of students are burdened with part-time study are, primarily, deficits in their family or personal budgets which precluded the costly process of education by full-time study!!

If we examined individual faculties more interesting inferences can be drawn. In the five degree courses with the longest part-time enrolments (Arts, Commerce, Economics, Science and Education) it is very obvious that the percentages of part-time unassisted students are very high, whereas, except for Commerce and Economics, the full-time students in the faculties are receiving a higher percentage of assistance than the overall average.

If we examine Divinity, it is apparent that 71% of full-time students and 94% of part-time students are not assisted financially. Obviously Big Business sees no profit to itself in sponsoring studies in this faculty, and the Jesus Businesses are not in the

financial position to greatly assist their aspiring executives through their studies on either a part or full time basis.

If post-graduate students are examined, the position here is better for both groups of students, although part-time students still have nothing resembling a parity with full-time students. Now only 16% of part-time post-graduates (cf 31% full-time undergraduates) are without assistance, while 61% part-time post-graduates (cf 91% part-time Undergrads) still have no financial assistance. Although the part-time postgrads' chances of financial assistance are considerably better than those of the part-time undergrads, the difference in opportunity is still excessively large and depressing.

So, now we know the problem! That section of students who will be most affected by The Great Fee Increase will be the part-time, self-supporting students. If you are one of this number, what do you intend to do about this? You could do nothing (and perhaps drop out when you find the fee increase has become fact—and wrecked your budget). You could complain a bit to any of your friends who'll listen; you could write a letter to your Faculty rep on Union Council, to the Vice President for part-time students (me) to the Senate, to the Vice-Chancellor; to your MP, to your Minister for Education, and sundry assorted others; you could attend a part-time students meeting to be held to consider the problem and its possible remedies.

If part-time students really don't mind fee increases which are going to take even more money out of their pockets, then let's do nothing about fee increases. However, if you need as much of your money as you can retain, let your opinions be known. Write, phone, or personally attend the part-time students meeting.

Ann White
Part-Time V-P

FULL-TIME STUDENTS

Bachelor Degree	Number Enrolled	No. Rec. Assistance	No. Rec. no Assist.	% with no Assist.
Agricultural Science	210	146	64	30
Ap. Sci. Geology	30	12	18	60
Ap. Sci. Geophysics	11	8	3	27
Architecture	114	56	58	51
Arts	1,370	1,046	324	23
Arts/Law	177	115	62	35
Arts/Social Work	48	31	17	35
Arts/Divinity	16	8	8	50
Commerce	395	216	179	45
Dental Science	189	140	49	26
Divinity	14	4	10	71
Economics	267	152	115	43
Education	50	37	13	25
Engineering	729	536	193	26
Forrestry Science	13	7	6	46
Law	204	104	100	49
Medical/Surgery	990	779	211	21
Music	43	33	10	24
Occupational Therapy	57	27	30	53
Pharmacy	165	83	82	49
Physiotherapy	127	83	44	34
Science	916	649	267	29
Social Work	257	185	72	28
Speech Therapy	67	53	14	20
Surveying	45	35	10	22
Veterinary Science	393	220	173	44
TOTALS	6,896	4,765	2,131	31%
POST-GRADUATES	676	564	112	16%

PART-TIME STUDENTS

Number Enrolled	No. Rec. Assistance	No. Rec. no Assist.	% with no Assist.
10	2	8	80
1	—	1	100
1	—	1	100
98	45	53	39
2,765	187	2,578	93
58	4	54	93
9	—	9	100
16	1	15	93
688	52	636	93
—	—	—	0
77	4	73	94
953	41	912	95
1,924	139	1,785	92
38	11	27	71
1	—	1	100
262	83	175	66
1	1	—	—
1	—	1	100
9	3	6	67
5	—	5	100
1	—	1	100
568	100	468	82
46	3	43	93
14	4	10	71
8	—	8	100
8	3	5	62
7,562	683	6,879	91%
906	351	555	61%

N.B. Columns 2 and 6 give numbers of students receiving some form of financial assistance, be it by way of scholarship, cadetship, bursary or whatever.

Unique's first production augers well for the future of this semi-professional group. Indeed the play was rendered something more than memorable by the impressive talents of several performers, notably Bill Brown, Peters Holt, Perry and Clarke, Mich Macklin and Cathy Glynn. But just as this interesting half-dozen represent the production's high point, occasional unwarranted lapses of discipline characterised the efforts of the cast as a whole.

Behan is the kind of writer however, who calls for such abrupt changes of mood and pace that this default is almost understandable. To be fair it must also be pointed out that certain shifts say from a contemplation of the futility of Irish rebelliousness to a song and dance routine reminiscent of the English music hall did work; and combinations like that of Tchaikovsky's 1812 Overture with the rowdy final scenes were quite effective.

Though it should also be remembered that much of the pastiche quality of the play as we now have it is the result of Joan Littlewood's extensive alterations to Behan's original script. And in many cases the power and vibrancy of his language is almost swamped by an emphasis on tableau or incident.

It follows that while most of Bill Brown's troupes were quite successful in evoking the humour of the various situations, the pathos was left little ground in which to accumulate. So where the British soldiers' eventual fate is predictable the actual fact of the murder isn't driven home with the kind of impact it demands. We are left slightly up in the air at the end. The guilt that all the characters share in this murder by virtue of their acquiescence in the on-rushing events of the play isn't really insisted upon. Now Behan (or perhaps more accurately Joan Littlewood) has prepared for this by making all the characters, with the exception of Pat and Meg slightly incomplete—slightly caricatured examples of the real things, at once pathetic and comical. The comedy was readily apparent, the pathos more difficult to find.

Thus in terms of entertainment the whole endeavour was eminently worthwhile, in terms of attaching some more moving comment on the self-defeating nature of the Irish race it was slightly deficient. But as I have tried to say, if the proof of the stew is in the sauce rather than in the potatoes Unique's first menu was healthy enough.

Clement Freud.

THAT IT NO LONGER BE THE POLICY OF THE UNION TO ACCEPT PROXIES AT MEETINGS OF COUNCIL AND ITS COMMITTEES, AND THAT THE CONSTITUTION AND REGULATIONS BE AMENDED AS FOLLOWS:—

- SECTION 13 (2) OF THE CONSTITUTION BE DELETED.
- SECTIONS 13 (3) AND 13 (4) OF THE CONSTITUTION BE RENUMBERED 13 (2) AND 13 (3) RESPECTIVELY.
- SECTION 13 (5) OF THE CONSTITUTION BE AMENDED BY DELETING THE WORDS "EXCLUDING PROXIES" AND BE RENUMBERED 13 (4).
- SECTION 24 OF THE CONSTITUTION BE AMENDED BY DELETING THE SENTENCE BEGINNING "FOR THE PURPOSE..."
- REGULATION 2 (7) BE DELETED.
- REGULATION 4 (6) BE DELETED AND REGULATIONS 4 (7) TO 4 (14) BE RENUMBERED 4 (6) TO 4 (13) RESPECTIVELY.
- THE PRESENT REGULATION 4.9.1. (a) BE DELETED AND REGULATION 4.9.1 (b) TO 4.9.1 (d) BE RELETTERED 4.9.1 (a) TO 4.9.1 (c) RESPECTIVELY.
- THE PRESENT REGULATION 4.10.1 BE AMENDED BY DELETING "(OR THE GENERAL VICE-PRESIDENT AS HIS DEPUTY)".
- THE PRESENT REGULATION 4.10 BE AMENDED BY DELETING "(OR THE GENERAL VICE-PRESIDENT AS HIS DEPUTY)".
- THE PRESENT REGULATION 4.11 BE AMENDED BY DELETING "(OR THE GENERAL VICE-PRESIDENT AS HIS DEPUTY)".
- REGULATION 12.1.1 BE AMENDED BY DELETING "(OR HIS DEPUTY THE VICE-PRESIDENT)" AND "(OR HIS DEPUTY THE ASSISTANT HONORARY SECRETARY)".
- REGULATION 17.4 (c) BE AMENDED BY DELETING "OR A PROXY APPOINTED BY HIM".
- REGULATION 20.2.1 (b) BE AMENDED BY DELETING "OR HIS DEPUTY THE GENERAL VICE-PRESIDENT".

AND THAT THE LEGAL STANDING COMMITTEE BE AUTHORISED AND INSTRUCTED TO PERUSE THE REGULATIONS AND CONSTITUTION AND PRESIDENT TO THE NEXT MEETING OF COUNCIL ANY FURTHER ALTERATIONS THEY CONSIDER NECESSARY AND/OR DESIRABLE IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE POLICY AND CHANGES.

AUSTRALIANA

Coral Lansbury, *Arcady in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, 1970, 202pp., \$7.50.

Dr. Lansbury's book is about the image of Australia in nineteenth-century English literature. Through an examination of the work of Bulwer Lytton, Charles Reade, Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope, Oscar Wilde and Henry Kingsley (among others) she reveals a changing image of Australia, but one which firmly centred on Australia as the new Arcady. It was the land where fortunes could be won from the soil of the diggings and where the peaceful pastoral life, once the birth-right of every Englishman, could be enjoyed far away from crowded cities and grubby industrialization. Against this picture of Australia in nineteenth-century fiction the author holds the realities of life in the bush and on the gold-fields. The contrast between life as it was and life as many people imagined it to be resulted in some amusing juxtapositions, such as this unlikely scene from Kingsley's *Geoffrey Hamlyn*:

I only know it was near the latter end of summer, burning hot, with the bushfires raging like volcanoes on the ranges, and the river reduced to a slender stream of water, almost lost upon the broad white flats of quartz shingle. It was the end of February, I said, when Major Buckley, Captain Brentwood (formerly of the artillery), and I, Geoffrey Hamlyn, sat together over our wine in the veranda at Baroona, gazing sleepily on the grey plains that rolled away east and north-east towards the sea.

In that bizarre picture of the squatter and his visitors "gazing sleepily" over wine while the bushfire rages all around them we have a perfect example of the ultimate inability of Australian life to fit into nineteenth-century literary stereotypes.

One of Dr. Lansbury's main points is that a good deal of the credit for the Arcadian image of Australia in nineteenth-century England must go to one Samuel Sidney; "the Australian writer" as Dickens described him, though he had never left Europe. Sidney's brother had spent some time here (during good seasons apparently) and using his recollections and the writings of others,

Sidney published a number of influential books and articles: *A Voice from the Far Interior of Australia* (1847), *Sidney's Australian Hand-Book* (1848), *The Three Colonies of Australia* (1852) and *Gallops and Gossips in the Bush of Australia* (1854), to list only his most ambitious attempts. The image of Australia he projected was the image accepted in much nineteenth-century English fiction:

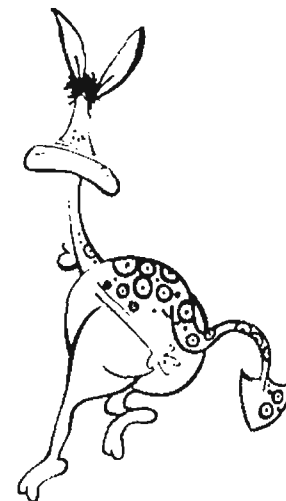
—an El Dorado and an Arcadia combined, where the hardest and the easiest, best-paid employments are to be found, where every striving man who rears a race of industrious children, may sit under the shadow of his own vine and his own fig-tree—not without work, but with little care—living on his own land, looking down to the valleys to his herds—towards the hills to his flocks, amid the humming of bees, which know no winters. (*The Three Colonies of Australia*)

What *Arcady in Australia* finally suggests is that the image of the egalitarian land of milk and honey, which has been so central in our concept of ourselves, is "as much a creation of literature as of history". The traditional Australian self-image, that is,

which recently took such a battering from Humphrey McQueen's *A New Britannia*, here comes under further crossfire from a most interesting and stimulating book.

A final point: Dr. Lansbury does not seem to be aware that much of her material and some of her conclusions are available in a doctoral dissertation submitted by Sidney Rosenberg at Columbia University in 1954: *Black Sheep and Golden Fleece: A Study of nineteenth century English attitudes toward Australian colonials*. This thesis is available from University Microfilms in Xerox copies but is not acknowledged in Dr. Lansbury's bibliography.

Leon Cantrell.



THE NAKED BUNYIP

It is often said by aspiring Australian film-makers that there is only one way to break into the business: launch a first film featuring cheesecake pornography. The proceeds from such a drawcard can then be used to make a second film, which, by contrast, will be Art. The makers of the *Naked Bunyip* certainly seem to have borne this in mind when they flung the film together in a fashion which must be admired for its nerve if not its integrity. However, this not being a first film for at least some of the people involved, it was obviously thought necessary to include certain elements of both "Art" and "serious social comment" in order to give a commercial venture some calibre.

The problem posed by Art was overcome primarily when it was learnt how to hold the camera steady. Although there were some very good old-world tints thrown in at appropriate old-world places, the changes from black and white to colour seem to have been dictated more by the budget than from any dedication to experimentation. And about the kindest thing one could say about the extremely thin story-line (which concerns the bumbings of a male researcher into sex in Australia) is that it's allowed the writers to finish the film off without having to say anything remotely analytical about sex mores of Australian society.

For the film is not specifically about sex at all. It is not concerned with the reproductive processes, the pleasure principle, or the function of the orgasm (although a book of the same title does sweep across the screen under the inference that it is a dirty paperback). What the film does purport to deal with are the social consequences of sexuality. And it is not an unwarranted Marxist intrusion to say that as the film lacks any sort of coherent social analysis of sexuality, its treatment of such social "problems" must necessarily be less than penetrating. There is for example a direct connexion between the fact that most of the so-called problems featured in the film, with the exception of homosexuality and transvestitism, stem from the general social disregard in which women are held:

Although of course, they are highly revered as sex objects (when young and healthy) as the first half of the film makes only too painfully clear. Thus the only challenge to the mindless mid-Victorian mores of the Australian male is in regard to male homosexuality.

This dithering between superficiality and seriousness causes the subsequent wavering between documentary and linear narrative. Insofar as his role was necessary, Graeme Blundell played the part of a bumbling male to perfection. Barry Humphries, whose appearance was likewise redundant, finally got his own back for all those guest appearances by rendering a performance as mediocre as the people he satirizes. I would prefer not to discuss the women in the film as, with the possible exception of Beatrice Faust, their secondary status seemed perfectly justifiable. That women accept the male definitions of themselves seemed to be a constant theme throughout, but was nowhere brought into sharper relief than in the interview with the prostitute who seemed to regard herself as less than human.

At this stage it is almost mandatory to pat the film on the back for being Australian. That having been done, it is time to deliver a swift kick to the censor's arse. The anger of the audience at arbitrary and unjustifiable cuts is self-explanatory. Far more an insidious effect, however, is that the almost ubiquitous presence of the censor's scissors in a film attempting to break with the crass commercialism of contemporary Australian cinema is hardly any incentive for someone to complete the process. Foreknowledge of the censor's incompetence could also account for the notable absence of such topics as hard-core pornography, and justify the film's inability to come to terms with its subject. The censor's treatment of a film as inoffensive as this leaves one wondering what he would have done with a more analytical and conclusive one on the same theme. The obvious answer to that question explains just why such a film has never been made in Australia.

Robyn Bardon

I agree with the charge of an uneven tenor in achievement in *The Naked Bunyip*—the film often wavers between artistic assurance and self-consciousness (partly because of its subject, more often because it is Australian). The criticisms of 'thin story line', 'lack of coherent social analysis', etc. are irrelevant to the medium (i.e. FILM, FILM, FILM) and show a distinct lack of humour. Director John Murray's method of discussing film censorship by using it as an integral part of the movie is original and the best method yet of demonstrating its absurdity. This is an intelligent first feature film by a director fully aware of the possibilities of his medium.

PETER MULLINS

IS THE "REBIRTH OF THE AUSTRALIAN FILM INDUSTRY" ONLY A MYTH? JOHN MURRAY, DIRECTOR/PRODUCER OF *THE NAKED BUNYIP* IS INTERVIEWED IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF *SEMPER* BY WINSTON MARKE AND PETER MULLINS.



VIETNAM

THE YELLOW MAN'S BURDEN

The French were not, however, the first colonial masters of Vietnam; this role was previously fulfilled by the Chinese from 221 BC until they were finally expelled the Vietnamese in 939 AD. Even though many Chinese ideas and customs pervade Vietnamese life, the bitterness engendered by China's 1,000 year rule is still evident today. Witness, for example, the relics of the struggles against the Chinese which are housed in the Museum of the Revolution in Hanoi.¹

The Vietnamese enjoyed a degree of independence from 939 AD until 1883 when French hegemony over Annam, Tonkin and Cochinchina was firmly established.

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

It is our view that the nature of the Vietnamese Revolution was determined by the nature of the French colonialist regime. For example; the violence displayed in the revolution was not created by the revolutionaries. The violence was, in fact, inherent in the entire political, economic and social system imposed upon the Vietnamese. As Roy Jumper says:

"French colonial policy had a major impact on Vietnamese history, it introduced economic, political and social changes which dislocated the traditional mode of life and produced a poorly integrated society in which a small urban-oriented, Westernized elite was largely alienated from the bulk of the village based population. French authority was absolute and their colonial policy after 1897 was largely shaped by the concept of the area as a profitable economic enterprise to be exploited for the benefit of the mother country."

The French colonialists did little to change the agrarian nature of the economy and in 1940 the peasantry made up 89% to 90% of the population. Under the enlightened purveyance of West-civilization, the French succeeded in forming a huge reserve of landless labourers for their plantations, reduced the literacy rate, increased the tax burden, established a monopoly on opium and alcohol, and enforced compulsory consumption quotas on these. Most importantly, under French rule, the acreage and extent of indigenous land holding decreased such that by the year 1940 in Tonkin, where 70% of the total population lived, 62% owned less than 9 acre and 30% owned less than 4 acre. At the same time the average Tonkin peasant spent 81% of his income on food, and thus couldn't save rendering himself vulnerable to the slightest reverses. Absentee landlordism and usury were rife. In Cochinchina, as in the rest of Vietnam, peasants depended on their landlords, and a 50% interest rate over 8-12 months was common, despite the fact that landlords received 40% of the crop.²

It has been adequately demonstrated³ that the French Government made very little, economically, out of its Indo-China colonies. Yet it is also evident that quite a large number of Frenchmen made fortunes as a result of economic "adventures" in the colonies.

They were aided in this task by the fact that little capital or income tax was ever collected from the European population. (including large European companies). The vast bulk of taxation came out of the pockets of the Vietnamese peasants, i.e. the group with the least capacity to pay. The amounts collected in taxation reached quite high proportions e.g. Cochinchina paid 35 million Gold Francs in Taxation in 1887.

Most of the funds collected went into the hands of Europeans either in the form of wages to petty French bureaucrats or in the form of general government grants to ailing French companies.⁴

In other words, the poor were fleeced in order to provide "social security" benefits for the rich. Small wonder that the French colonialists and those of the collaborating Vietnamese class were hated: small wonder that there was a revolution in such a society.

RESISTANCE AND WAR

The anti-colonial movement began as soon as the French arrived and reached a high point during the economic crisis of the 1930's. In February, 1930, the U.N.Q.D.D. (Non-Marxist Nationalist Party) staged an abortive revolt at the Yen Bay garrison. Both the mutiny and the U.N.Q.D.D. were crushed with the remnants of the party fleeing to Kuomintang China. The departure of the U.N.Q.D.D. from the political scene left the Indo-Chinese Communist Party (founded 1930) as the rallying group of the anti-colonialist movement.

The summer of 1930 saw large peasant demonstrations (6,000 marched on Vinh) protesting against unbearable taxation. Soviets were set up in Nge, a province where land was shared out among the people.

The French were extremely brutal in suppressing these and other actions, and by 1932, 10,000 political dissidents were in gaol and a large number of "ringleaders" had been executed.⁵

The most important event in regard to the Vietnamese Nationalist Movement during World War II was the formation of the Viet-Minh by Ho Chi Minh in 1939 as a coalition of democrats, socialists communists et al. They agreed on a programme of common struggle for independence and a social programme based on the idea of a democratic republic.

In March, 1945, the Japanese overthrew the pro-Nazi Vichy French Government that had been in "command" of the colony. With the subsequent defeat of the Japanese, the Viet-Minh filled the resultant power vacuum. Thus the conclusion of World War II saw the Viet-Minh as the effective Government of Vietnam having the support of the bulk of the population.

THE FRENCH RETURN

The Viet-Minh were confident that the Allies would acknowledge the independence of Vietnam, but the Potsdam Treaty, which gave the British the power to disarm the Japanese south of the 16th parallel, enabled General Gracey to use Japanese and Indian troops against the Viet-Minh government in the south, and cleared the way for the re-enstatement of the French by a coup in Saigon on September 23rd, 1945. In the north the Hanoi regime was recognized as the defacto government by the Chinese Kuomintang troops who were disarming the Japanese. This allowed the Hanoi regime to function with considerable freedom. The Nationalist Chinese were more interested in looting the country.

Certain French interests (especially Admiral D'Arginlieu) were determined that no part of Vietnam was to become independent and it was this determination which resulted in the outbreak of the first Indo-China war with the French bombing of Haiphong in 1946. This war continued, except for a pause in hostilities in 1949, until the French were finally defeated at Dien Bien Phee in 1954.

It is important to realize that the "war" in Vietnam did not begin in 1960 or 1949 or 1946. In fact the present conflict is not, and never has been a "war" in the classic sense. It is, rather, an anticolonial revolution with its genesis firmly related in the French colonial period of Vietnamese history.

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON INDO-CHINA-1954

As far as Vietnamese freedom is concerned the conference was a disaster mainly because it was a "Big Power" conference and the strategic ambitions of the "Big 5" were more influential in determining the outcome of the conference than any real desire to give the Vietnamese justice. The role played by the U.S. at Geneva is both interesting and crucial. The United States Secretary of State (Dulles) was not over eager to attend the conference but America agreed in order to ensure French support for the European Defence Community. Dulles in fact did not attend the conference in person but rather was engaged in discussions with France as regards direct U.S. involvement if the conference "failed". What is significant is that Dulles tried to ensure that the conference "failed" by sending a telegram to the U.S. delegation advising them to bring the proceedings to a close as quickly as possible since "the communists were only spinning things out to suit their own military purposes". (In fact, as Anthony Eden reports, the Russians and the Chinese were being extremely conciliatory!)

The U.S. displayed that it was not prepared to abide by the Geneva decisions by stating on July 23rd (only 2 days after the conference ended) that "one of the good aspects of the Geneva Conference is that it advances the truly independent status of Cambodia, Laos and Southern Vietnam (U.S., STATE DEPARTMENT BULLETIN V.31, 1954 p. 163) (emphasis added). This of course is the OPPOSITE of what the Conference laid down since article 6 of the Final Declaration clearly stated that "the military demarcation line is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary." The Conference provided for the unification of the country via elections to be held in 1956.

A high ranking State Department official (K. T. Young) wrote in 1967 that "our aim (in 1954) was an independent South Vietnam with a strong government responsive to the national aspirations of the population" (ASIAN SURVEY VOL VII No. 8 P. 150) Eisenhower had made this clear to Diem in October 1954 when he spoke in terms of a "strong viable state" in South Vietnam. In order for this U.S. Aim to become a reality it was necessary to put off the 1956 elections since, as Eisenhower wrote in his memoirs, (MANDATE FOR CHANGE p. 372) "80% of the people would vote for Ho rather than Bao Dai." It was also reported at the time that Ho had more support in the South than in the North (N.Y. TIMES 23 September, 1954).

Under Geneva the responsibility for the holding of the elections lay with France and the Viet-Minh. On May 11th 1955, however, the U.S. and France held a meeting where it was decided that "the French expeditionary corps would be progressively withdrawn" (see V. SINGH FOREIGN AFFAIRS REPORTS 1955 Vol. IV No. 9). When this was completed in April 1956 (3 months before the election date) the French no longer possessed the means to honour the agreements they had made at Geneva. Diem's Government and the U.S. were then able to declare that since they had not signed any section of the 1954 accords they were under no responsibility to hold the elections.

The constant factor which explains America's actions in regard to Geneva was that the U.S. regarded it as essential to her global strategy that Indo-China (in total or

in part) should remain in "friendly hands". As Dulles had pointed out on April 10, 1954 "the area (South East Asia) is very important from the standpoint of its people, its economic resources and from the standpoint of its strategic position in the world." The importance of Indo-China in U.S. strategy can be gauged from the fact that Dulles was prepared to precipitate a Third World War to ensure that it remained in "friendly hands". The plan which Dulles approved (it was first put forward by Admiral Redford the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) was that on the 23rd April, 1954, 500 U.S. planes were to drop TACTICAL ATOMIC BOMBS on Viet-Minh strongholds around Dien Bien Phu in order to save the French from defeat. It was considered probable that this would provoke a hostile reaction from China and it was envisaged that if this should be the case then America's atomic arsenal should be directed AGAINST PEKING! NATION, April 17, 1954 p. 45). It appears that the only reason that this action was not carried out was that Britain refused to agree to any form of direct U.S. action in Indo-China.

(See C. M. Roberts THE REPORTER XI, September 1954 pp. 31/5).

SAME REVOLUTION-NEW REACTIONARIES 1954-1960

In discussing the period 1949-1954 there are 2 interrelated facts which, we feel, are of crucial importance when attempting to analyse the situation in Vietnam. These facts are:-

- that the U.S. had been supporting the French colonial regime economically and morally since 1950⁶ and
- that it was during the latter part of this period that the U.S. began sending "advisors" into Vietnam. This was done via an agency called M.A.A.G. (Military Assistance Advisory Group.)

These facts show that the U.S. did not become involved in Vietnam "by mistake". Their intervention was rather a carefully thought-out policy determined in the context of America's global strategy.



DIEM

The dominant political personality in Saigon 1955-1963 was Ugo Dinh Diem who, via a rigged referendum, disposed of the French puppet emperor, Bao Dai, and proclaimed, with U.S. blessing (-connivance?), the Republic of South Vietnam.

The most crucial political event which occurred during the Diem Regime was the formation of the N.L.F. (National Liberation Front) in 1960. We would argue that the N.L.F. arose, in South Vietnam, as an indigenous social and political revolutionary movement as a reaction against the oppressive and class-biased policies of the Saigon Government. We would further contend that to cast Hanoi in the role of the midwife at the Front's birth is incorrect and that what Hanoi, in fact, attempted was to act as a political abortionist in regard to the N.L.F.

The major cause of unrest in South Vietnam was the Saigon Government's hard policy.⁷ When we claim that the government was class biased we are referring to the fact that the power-elite centred in Saigon was composed, in the main, of members of the rich landowning class and that these men used their positions of power to thwart any moves which might deprive them of the income they received in the form of rents and interest payments from the peasantry.

In South Vietnam at this time 60% of the population was solely dependent on the land for their livelihood. Yet in the early 1960's only 23% of the families in the Mekong Delta owned their own land. On top of this the peasants paid 33-50% of their crop in rents and, if they fell into debt, they paid interest rates averaging 60% (usually to their landlord).

When speaking of the Saigon Government's land policy⁸ it must be remembered that during the war against the French in all areas under Viet-Minh control the land had been distributed among the people. Diem however, had given this land back to the landlords and the people were incensed by this.

As well as the regime's inability to deal with the land "problem" it must also be borne in mind that the Government was one of the most oppressive ever to be witnessed in the Third World (Bernard Fall likened it to Orwell's 1984). The "elections" held during the years 1955-1963 can only be described as farcial.⁹ Diem was generally rather nervous of elections and preferred to do without them; for instance he abolished the age-old practice of electing village officials and proceeded to appoint his own. In short, Diem managed to alienate almost the entire population of South Vietnam-alienated them to the point that many were prepared to take up arms to overthrow the government.

FORMATION OF THE N.L.F. 1958-1960

In conclusion to this First Part of the article we would like to describe briefly, the dynamics of the actual formation of the N.L.F. It is generally held, in some quarters,¹⁰ that the Front was formed on December 20, 1960 purely as the result of a directive issued by Hanoi in September of that year. We would suggest however, that this is a naive and simplistic analysis ignoring certain salient facts.

For instance, in 1958 there was a broadcast from a radio station in South Vietnam calling itself the "Voice of the South Vietnam Liberation Front". Hanoi immediately replied that these activities were provocations on behalf of the U.S. and accused the Front of "using their broadcasts to disturb Marxist-Leninist theories. They have... falsified the policies of the Lav-Dong Party and the D.R.V. Government."¹¹

Hanoi maintained this attitude until as late as 1960 e.g. in March 1960 former Viet-Minh veterans issued the "Declaration of the Resistance Fighters", Hanoi was perturbed at this "adventurist" action and sent emissaries to the South to sound out opinion. It is reported that they met with a hostile reaction from the guerillas, were called "cowards" and were told "what are you waiting for to help? If you don't do anything, you communists, we will rise up against you too".¹²

The reason for Hanoi's cautious policy in these years lies in the fact that they were apprehensive of engaging in any activity which they felt might provoke the Americans against them. When all this is taken into account it can be seen that the Hanoi statement of December 1960 was not, in fact, a directive to begin a revolutionary war but rather, was a belated recognition of the existence of that war.

AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH

Not until 6 months after the Southern Veterans had taken matters into their own hands did Hanoi publicly endorse their stand. Jean Lecoutre, the noted French historian emphasizes that during this 6 months, Hanoi agents present at the declaration reported back, saying that they represented a popular movement that sooner or later would develop into a major armed struggle that Hanoi could not afford to ignore. So much for U.S. foreign policy assumptions as stated in the 1965 "White Paper" that "the Liberation Front is neither independent nor southern, but is simply Hanoi's creation." Despite the wealth of information on the real origins of the N.L.F. available to the U.S. State Department, any admission of this information would have invalidated the alleged reasons for the American economic and military bolstering of Diem and later Southern Vietnamese regimes. It would have negated much of the McCarthyist rhetoric of U.S. governments since Truena. Diemist repression continued on however into the cities. On April 26th, 1960 a group of 18 notables, 10 of them former ministers, took their fates in their hands and issued a declaration in the form of a public manifesto. This referred to "anti-democratic elections", "continuous arrests that filled the jails to the rafters", and further charged that "effective power had been concentrated in fact in the hands of an irresponsible member of the 'family' (Ngo Dinh Nhu, Diem's brother) from whom emanates all orders." ¹³ All who signed the manifesto were subsequently arrested. Similar attitudes expressed in army circles came to a head on December 11th when Diem adroitly stalled and crushed an attempted army coup. U.S. response was to back Diem for a further 3 years! Finally realizing that Diem was, despite his anti-communist zeal, alienating many people from the Government, the U.S. indicated to certain "safe" generals that if a coup against Diem was successful, the new Government would be

recognized and given active American support. Diem was accordingly overthrown on November 1, 1963 at which time the Saigon government had less than 50% of the South under its control.

During the preceding 3 years Saigon had lost control over even larger areas to the N.L.F. The Front had in this period established an alternative defacto government in rural Vietnam with the degree of administrative authority varying from province to province. For example the N.L.F. collected taxes in 41 out of the 43 provinces in the South, although this does not mean control. It merely indicates some function of its administration there. In the Saigon power politicking after the demise of Diem, the N.L.F. made further significant advances in organisation and numbers. This may be seen through U.S. release figures of 1964 which quoted 34% of villages controlled by the government, 42% outright to the N.L.F., with 24% "neutral". Neutralism in Saigon's eyes is tantamount to communism and stern measures are taken against it.

The main build up of U.S. troops and material came after General Maxwell Taylor made an on the spot investigation, and as a result supplies and men were increased. In this year the use of toxic chemicals and napalm as a "persuasive agent" against vegetation facilitated the removal of peasants into "strategic hamlets" and "prosperity zones". In 1965 10,000 military personnel were in Vietnam, with military aid estimated at \$1/2M(US) per day pouring in. Australia's contribution at this stage was a handful of advisors and a half a million dollars worth of barbed wire and corrugated iron for the above mentioned hamlets. These institutions after only 12 months of operation now held 8 million people who had been "persuaded" to leave their villages. This is an important consideration in the undermining of the Vietnamese culture, since much of the religious belief of the predominantly rural population centres around worship of ancestral villages and burial grounds. Suffice it to say that the repercussions for Vietnam's civilisation and culture are being eroded drastically and perhaps irreparably.

CREDIBILITY GAP?

On another scene, peace overtures and feelers by U Thant, General de Gaulle and Italian statesmen were the object of lies and distortions from Saigon and its Washington bosses. For example U Thant proposed a meeting in Rangoon between Hanoi and Washington; the former agreed while the latter refused. This was September 1964 and it was not until March 9 1969 that the peace initiative was disclosed and even then there was a further eight months lapse before the U.S. State Department confirmed their rejection of the offer, thereby reversing previous denials of such a rejection. The State Department attempted to regain some credibility by stating that they really were ready for serious talks but that Secretary of State Rusk's "antennae is sensitive". Needless to say the reaction of this deception was tumultuous but this did not affect the policy of the U.S. U Thant's reply was simply, "I am sure the American people, if only they know the true facts and background to the developments in South Vietnam, will agree with me that further bloodshed is unnecessary. As you know, in times of war and of hostilities the first casualty is truth."¹⁴ As if to further emphasise the aggressive policy of the U.S., in the middle of the above mentioned deception came yet another. This time lies, since rejected by Congress, led to the Tonkin Gulf Resolution under which the bombing of the North was initiated. Similar "retaliatory" or "strategic" bombing of supposedly military targets followed the "Pleiku incident" where "retaliatory" bombing followed an attack on a U.S. base in which the U.S. alleged mortars from the North had been used. They subsequently admitted that captured U.S. 81mm mortars were used against them.



YELLOW MAN'S BURDEN CONTINUED

The U.S. policy of "strategic bombing" persuasion method was designed to force the North to a conference table where Saigon would have the advantage. However it is admitted by all that significant reinforcements and assistance from the North came only after the beginning of the bombing in 1965. The bombing, whether by accident or design, succeeded in flattening villages, schools and other distinctly non-military targets. The effect of the bombing was to weld together the people of Northern Vietnam. A significant point may here be made in reply to those who say that the government of the north keeps the people down through force or fear... if this is the case, then why has the government armed almost every man, woman and many older adolescent in the country? Corresponding to the assistance from the north, though in overwhelming proportions compared with it, we see the increase in the U.S. and allied troops rise from the 1963 level of 10,000 to 23,000 in 1965 and a staggering elevenfold increase of 375,000 in June 1966.¹⁵ The half million mark was "achieved" in 1967. By this time the 30 Australian advisors of 1962 had risen to a force of 7,000, many of them conscripted. 1968 saw the bombing in Laos while the fighting spilled into Cambodia, culminating in the invasion of that country by the U.S. and South Vietnamese Army in 1970. Now Laos too has been used to aid the noble cause of establishing a "friendly democratic" state in the South of Vietnam. The "dominoes" are falling in the wrong direction and at the wrong hands.

Let us briefly consider the cost of the attempt to set up such a state: Discounting

such things as "dollar cost" or the "wishes of the people" etc... over 4 million people are refugees in their own land: as early as 1968 the Americans estimated 200,000 casualties each year; at least 250,000 Vietnamese are dead, 44,000 Americans are dead, 400 Australians are dead, 6,250 square miles of South Vietnam have been defoliated and the ground poisoned for an unknown number of years to come; cultural costs are also unknown but may be presumed drastic after a state of war since 1940!¹⁶ Similarly the longer the war continues the more influence the actions of the N.L.F. as the latter is forced into more dependence on them. This leads to the question of the survival of the N.L.F. in such an environment of technologically efficient destruction machine that the U.S. is unleashing. Even the 1967 total of 910,00 allies constituted a 3 to 1 ratio over known V.C. or North Vietnamese in the South. How could any guerrillas survive such an onslaught through napalm, anti-personnel bombing, defoliation and overwhelming numbers if they did not have popular support? 17 The usual answer to this is that they terrorize the population. However, this is flatly in contradiction with any theory of guerrilla war where the "insurgent" depends for his life on the people, and not the reverse! (see "The War of the Flea", R. Taber).

Surely then in the light of the legalistic farce of Geneva, the deliberate flouting of the agreements through the establishment of the "independent" state of South Vietnam, the power politicking and political imperialism of the U.S. and its mercenary allies*, the fascist repression of Diem, Thieu and Ky, the invasions of Laos and Cambodia as well as the building of bases for new activity in Thailand... surely we must see that Viet-

namese independence is the question and not an extension of the U.S. "Democratic Police Force". What right have we got to be there?

* Australia for political reasons though the dropping of the English in favour of the American "Big Brother"; Korea, Thailand and the Philippines through subsidies from the United States for the use of their troops.

NOTES

1. See H. Salisbury *Behind the Lines—Hanoi* 1967.
2. In A. Gettleman *VIETNAM* Penguin 1966.
3. See B. FALL *THE TWO VIETNAMS* PP 28-31
4. For Example; in the 1921 crisis the Rubber Companies received 1.7M piastres from the colonial budget.
5. By 1941 the French were operating 80 prisons not counting "Labour Reform Camps" (EDGAR SNOW *THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER*).
6. In 1950 the U.S. was giving the colonialist forces \$150M in aid and by 1954 this had risen to \$1 Billion per year, i.e. 80% of the French war cost.
7. Land has always been a crucial issue in South East Asia. SEE E. H. JACOBY *AGRARIAN UNREST IN SOUTH EAST ASIA* 1961.
8. See further. R. L. PROSTERMAN "Land Reform in Vietnam" *CURRENT HISTORY* December 1969.

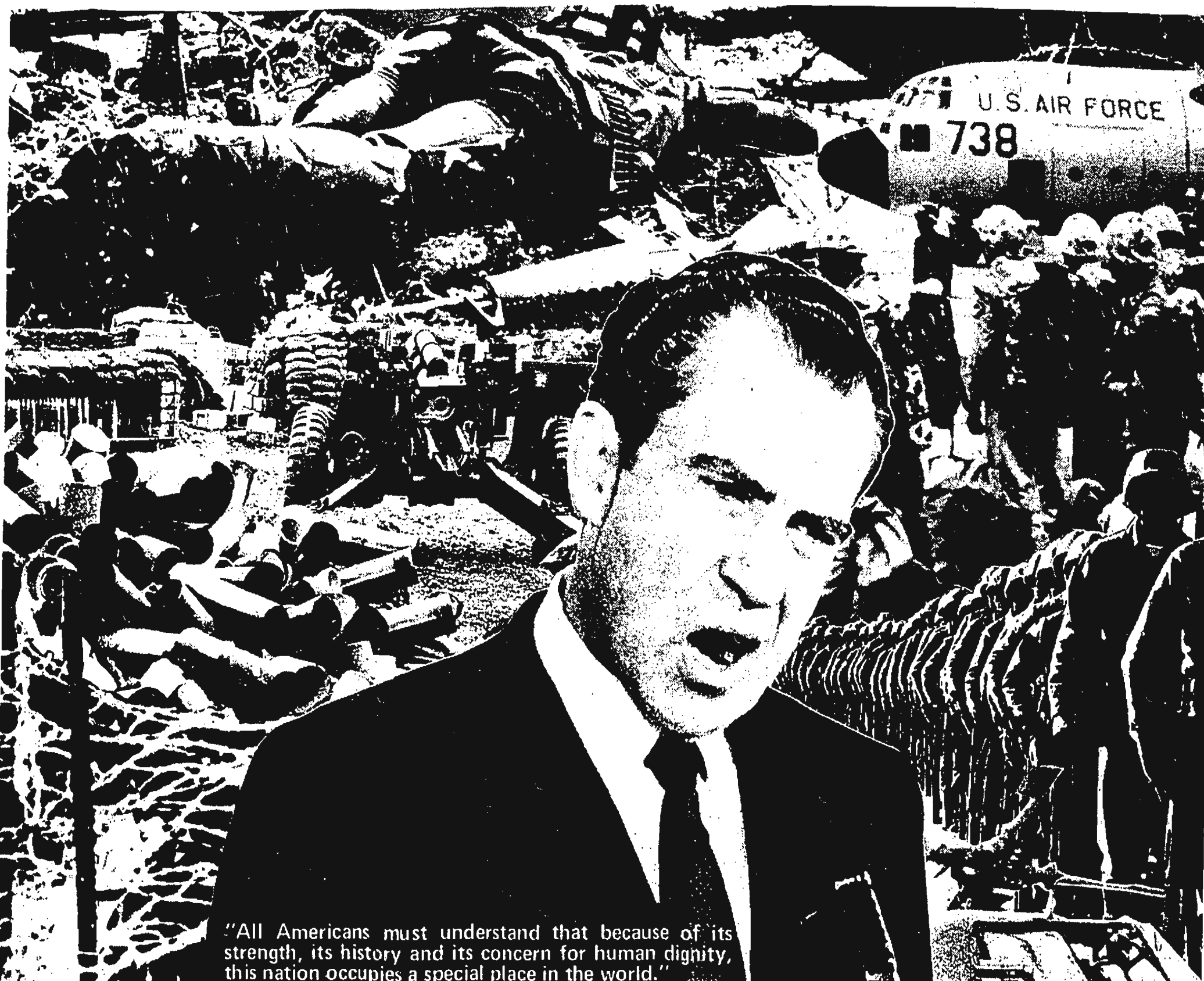
9. For a good picture of Saigon electoral procedure see the report of one of the candidates in the 1959 "election" *ASIAN SURVEY* November, 1962.
10. E. G. the 1965 *U.S. WHITE PAPER (AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH)* February 1965.
11. KAHIN & LEWIS *THE U.S. IN VIETNAM* 1967 p 11.
12. LE MONDE (London) April 15, 1965.

- (13-) KAHIN & LEWIS. OP CIT, P117.
- (14) IBID P 171.
- (15) United States Defence Dept. Report to Congress, 1966.
- (16) National Anti-War Conference, Sydney, Feb. 1971, Paper presented by Pauline Mitchell.
- (17) United States Operations Mission, Saigon, Report of 1967.

REFERENCES

Kahin and Lewis—*The U.S. in Vietnam*, Delta Press, 1967.
Chesneau, J.—*The Vietnamese Nation*.
Jacoby—*Agrarian Unrest in South-East Asia*.
Gettleman, M. (Ed.)—*Vietnam—History, Documents and Opinions*.
University Study Group—*Australia and Vietnam*.
Stone, G.—*War Without Honour*.
Scigliano, R.—*South Vietnam, A Nation under Stress*.
Taber, R.—*The War of the Flea*.
Hammer, E.—*The Struggle for Indo-China*.
Vo Nguyen Giap—*People's War, People's Army*.
Reports of the International Control Commission.
Horowitz, D.—*From Yalta to Vietnam*.
Chomsky, N.—*American Power and the New Mandarins; After Pinkville*.
Fall, B.—*The Two Vietnams; Vietnam: Dragon Embattled* (2 Vols.)

P. D. ARNOTT & B. J. COSTAR.



"All Americans must understand that because of its strength, its history and its concern for human dignity, this nation occupies a special place in the world."

poetry of statement

two letters to my university colleagues

tell me,
do you really think
that evil can be overcome
while you and I live the comfortable life?
secure on 10,000 a year,
taking the perks of office as our due;
this year the second car,
next the swimming pool
then the new house.

can't you see that most of the evil in the world
is sustained by men's failure
to love justice
and pursue brotherhood?

out back the aboriginal children,
as dear to their parents
as mine to me
still die;
while in vietnam
the napalm falls
and whole forests
are laid waste in our name.

what respect do you think
we can retain for a learning
linked so blatantly
with the thrust towards
status, privilege, power
and so little concerned with justice, mercy, peace?

In India they count their destitute in millions
and in the staff club
the question is
when is the next pay rise.

No wonder our children turn away in despair.
No wonder the clouds of judgement gather,
already the ground shifts beneath our feet
and from the cracks in the earth
the beasts of injustice
begin to rise.

What meanness of spirit
what lack of generosity.
such hardness of heart and complacency
is enough to poison
a whole society.

I do not think anything can save this generation
from the fruits of the injustice
it has so long supported
and now, come to love.

2.

One thing your hardness of heart
has taught me is this:
the source of joy and hope in the human spirit
lies beyond your power to destroy.
no matter how your grey death
falls on the world
seeking to kill the soul
you won't prevail.

everywhere,
in every nook and cranny
of this universe
another spirit is at work.
his task is to build and comfort;
to mend what is broken
to treasure what you have rejected
to cast down your pride.

spirit of holiness and truth
I thank you for all that is beautiful and good
Because of this
I will not lose hope.
I am glad they cannot touch your glory
which shines everywhere,
even in them.

do not be afraid
do not let your hearts be troubled
for I have overcome the world.

Chapel Hill
March, 1971

five ways to kill a man

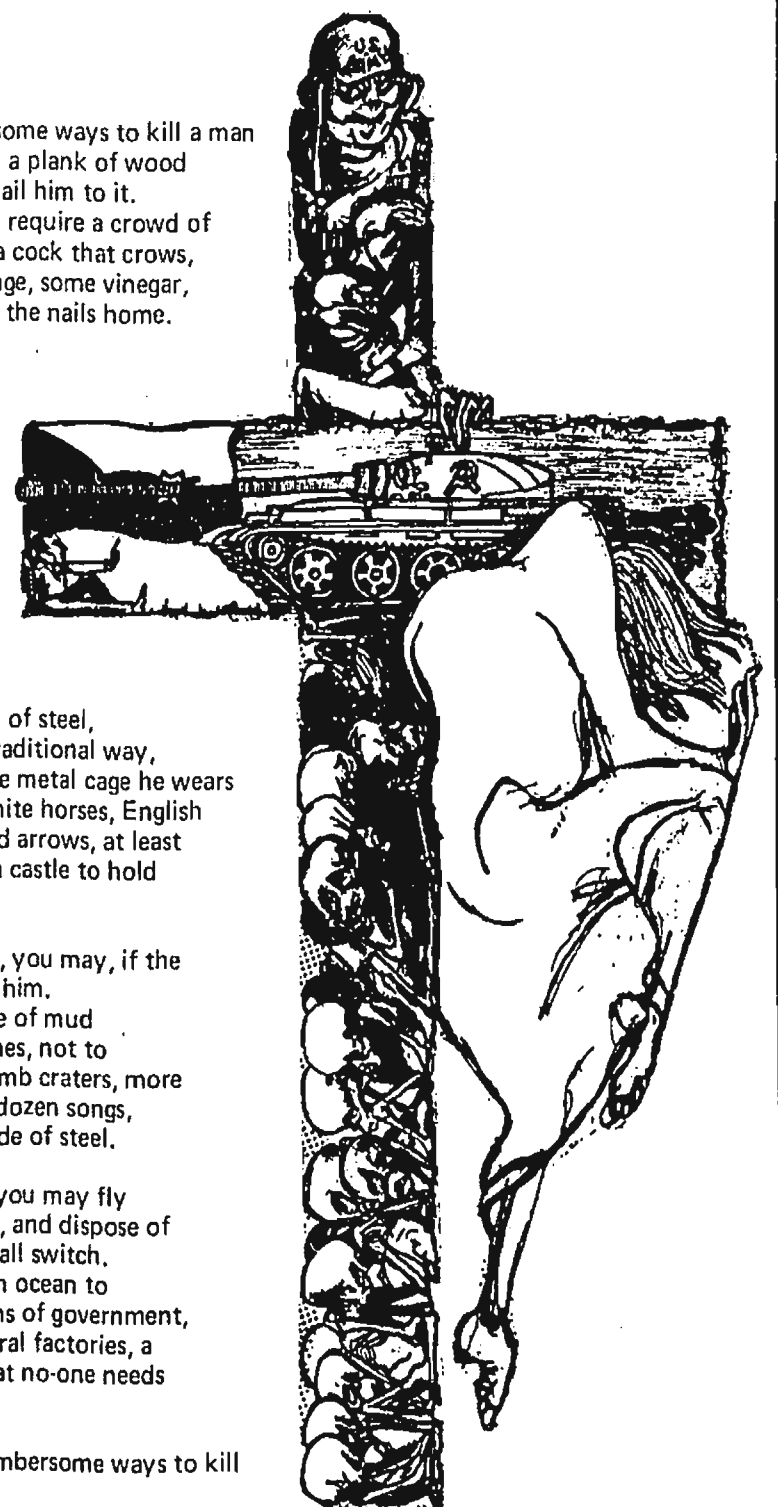
There are many cumbersome ways to kill a man
You can make him carry a plank of wood
to the top of a hill and nail him to it.
To do this properly, you require a crowd of
people wearing sandals, a cock that crows,
a cloak to dissect, a sponge, some vinegar,
and one man to hammer the nails home.

Or you can take a length of steel,
shaped and traced in a traditional way,
and attempt to pierce the metal cage he wears
But for this you need white horses, English
trees, men with bows and arrows, at least
two flags, a prince, and a castle to hold
your banquet in.

Dispensing with nobility, you may, if the
wind allows, blow gas at him.
But then you need a mile of mud
sliced through with ditches, not to
mention black boots, bomb craters, more
mud, a plague of rats, a dozen songs,
and some sound hats made of steel.

In an age of aeroplanes, you may fly
miles above your victims, and dispose of
them by pressing one small switch.
All you then require is an ocean to
separate you, two systems of government,
a nation's scientists, several factories, a
psychopath, and land that no-one needs
for several years.

These are, as I began, cumbersome ways to kill
a man.
Simpler and direct, and much more neat, is to see
that he is living somewhere in the middle
of the twentieth-century,
and leave him there.



by an unknown brother of the
Revitalization of Christianity
Movement (R.O.C.)

seize the time

A History Of The Black Panther Party

*"And then the trees turn into husbands
And the roses turn into wives
And the night goes down to Panther town
And the children turn into knives."*

These lyrics from a song by American activist/composer Carl Oglesby reflect the new mood of many American blacks, and more particularly of their armed vanguard, the Black Panther Party. Martin Luther King's advocacy of non-violence, his partial absorption into the liberal establishment and the apparent futility of his demands for integration seemed to be archaic at the time of his murder in April 1968. However, King's significance lies in his partial achievement of restoring dignity and cultural identification among America's 20 million blacks. More importantly, he became the lynch-pin of a movement (albeit unwitting-

ly) soon to unleash the revolutionary potentiality of black America. Objectively, he provided the impetus for two contradictory trends amongst the blacks. His policies were cynically co-opted by the black bourgeoisie who used integration and cultural identity (black is beautiful) for their own ends: the development of black capitalism. On the other hand, there emerged articulate spokesmen—Malcolm X, Eldridge Cleaver—for that increasing number of black Americans who viewed their racial degradation as fundamental to the white American power structure. They viewed themselves as a colony within a metropolis

and likened their struggle to that of the Vietnamese people. Both Cleaver and Huey Newton cite Frantz Fanon's point that black liberation can only occur through revolutionary political struggle. But, unlike the Vietnamese, the blacks do not have recourse to areas where they can find refuge. They exist throughout the cities and ghettos of the entire country, where they are easy targets for discrimination and repression. Because of this, the blacks have been forced to develop a totally new form of struggle; one opposed to integrated or segregated capitalism; to a separate state based on the same class lines as the present society; to civil rights marches and non-violence. With the formation of the B.P.P., in late 1966, a new, revolutionary, struggle was born.

The author of *Seize The Time*, Bobby Seale, is probably most familiar as the black revolutionary who, as one of the Chicago Eight was bound and gagged by the trial judge during the Chicago Conspiracy Trial. Seale received four years jail for contempt of court. At present, he is on bail awaiting trial over the alleged murder of a Panther/Police Spy. The book is written in a clipped and extremely readable style, probably to reach as large an audience as possible, but more likely due to the fact that it derives from tape-recordings over the last two years. Seale is not as impressive, or original, as Cleaver in *Soul on Ice* nor does he establish himself as an ideologue of the order of Huey Newton. But this is not the function of his book; as somebody remarked, the book is less of a party history than the fragment of a battle communique. Seale wishes to chronicle above all the Panther programme: 'We want full employment, decent housing, all black men to be exempt from military service, an immediate end to police murder of black people. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace'. Seale, too wishes to emphasize that the Panthers are conducting a class struggle i.e. they are anticapitalist, not anti-white. 'Black racism is a fault within the black community, a very selfish thing. We believe our fight is a class struggle and not a race struggle'. With venom matched only by that for the police, Seale lashes the "Cultural Nationalists"—LeRoi Jones, Stokeley Carmichael—who see their enemy as "whitey": "Cultural nationalism is trying to popularise dashikis, the natural, the wearing of sandals, and African dress. But power for the people doesn't grow out of the sleeve of a dashiki." For the Panthers there are two kinds of nationalism: revolutionary nationalism and reactionary nationalism. The former is dependant on a people's revolution; a socialist revolution. The Panther's realize the value of their cultural heritage and while they are quick to show how imperialism destroys indigenous culture in the areas it exploits, they do not believe that culture itself will liberate the black people. Reactionary or cultural nationalism stems from having the wrong political perspective. It is based on the naive view that freedom can be achieved through culture alone, above class struggle. Its end is oppression of the people.

The feud between the B.P.P. and the cultural nationalists has resulted in the murder of several Panthers.

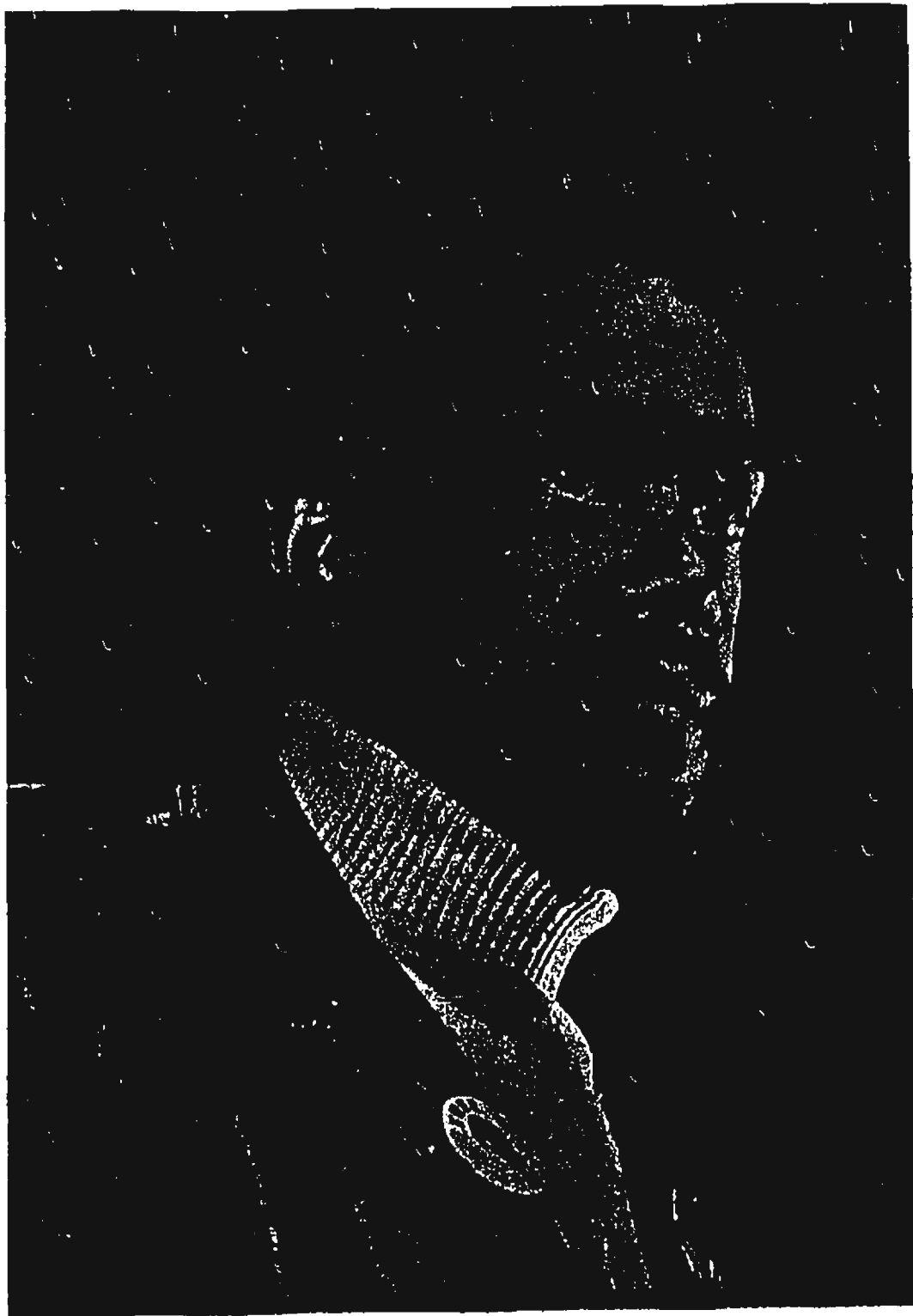
Any revolutionary movement inevitably faces repression by the ruling class. In the case of the Black Panthers, such repression has had terrifying results. From harassment in its formative stages, the police and F.B.I. (which established a special "Panther watching" squad) undertook, from the beginning of 1968, a systematic campaign to exterminate the Panthers. The Panthers were a prime target because they were black, revolutionary, and because they had found it necessary, in Newton's words, to "take up the gun". Seale, former GI and jack-of-all-trades met Huey Newton in 1962 at a Cuba blockade rally. Newton was a gifted orator and street agitator from Louisiana who advocated self-defense against the police. The two formed a nucleus of lumpen proletarian blacks around them and in late 1966 began policing Oakland's fascist police force (armed with "357 Magnums, 22's, 9mm's, what have you"). In May 1967, a group of armed Panthers walked into the Sacramento state legislature to protest against a gun law, obviously aimed at them. Such acts launched the Panthers as a national movement. There were hundreds of recruits into the Party and as a result strict control was lost. The leadership had a difficult time in ridding the Party of bad elements and in early 1960 membership was closed. There are 25 Panther chapters across the country and membership estimates run from 500 to 4,000. They are, understandably, reluctant to give any information on membership. Their weekly newspaper, *The Black Panther*, has a circulation about 150,000.

The Black Panthers maintain that since 1966, 28 members have been murdered by the police. In the case of two Panther leaders, Fred Hampton and Marcus Clark, both shot while asleep in their apartment, a Government committee of enquiry reported that police action was tantamount to murder. No further action was taken. Panthers are shot, killed, or wounded, in the most suspicious of circumstances. Almost the entire early leadership is dead or in jail (Eldridge Cleaver describes movingly in *"Soul on Ice"* the murder of the Panther's first and youngest member (18 years) Bobby Hutton). Cleaver is in exile in Algeria; Seale and Newton awaiting trial; and across the country there are political trials of Panther members—the New York Panther 21, Panther 8 in New Haven and so on.

Faced with such overwhelming repression the Black Panther Party has recently formed a coalition with white radical and liberal groups to establish a United Front Against Fascism.

At present, the future of the Panthers is unclear. One thing is certain however, the Panthers are resigned to their role: says Cleaver, "you live a revolutionary, or you die a revolutionary".

Gerry Vignola



Acid and the Revolution

After years of countless reactionary busts, drug philosopher Timothy Leary has suffered what could well be the world's first revolutionary bust.

Last January 9th, the 50 year old West Point drop-out and his wife were taken from their Algiers apartment by four Black Panthers and placed in confinement. The order for the bust was issued by Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, in exile, for the Black Panther Party. Leary's confinement also served as the springboard for a statement issued a few days later by Cleaver which condemned the use of acid and other drugs (except marijuana) in revolutionary struggle and which could serve to split the radical left in America.

On Wednesday, January 13, U.P.I. reported Don Cox, Black Panther Field Marshal, as saying the Learys were now under Panther protection and permitted a limited degree of freedom.

Leary and his wife Rosemary had been smuggled into Algiers by the Black Panther Party four months earlier, thereby escaping jail in the United States. They were given asylum by the Black Panther Party Inter-Communal Section which surfaced in Algiers at the Pan-African Festival in early 1969. Their obligations to the Algiers Panthers have been interpreted differently by each party and constitute one major reason for their arrest.

On the third day of confinement, they wrote Cleaver protesting the "no bail, no lawyer, and no phone call" nature of the bust and asked him to define precisely "the rules, obligations and rights under which we shall live".

The letter said also, "We have not complained as vigorously as we should have about the extraordinary series of monumental blunders you have whimsically committed which have jeopardised the goals of our work and lives (refers particularly to incidents in the smuggling of the Learys into Algiers).

"... In spite of numerous requests (since Sept. 26, 1969) we have never been able to sit down and discuss with you what we could and should do here. Your original answer to this question was 'Do your thing', which to us meant live quietly and write the story of our political evolution".

The letter was delivered to Cleaver by Michael Zwerin, European editor of the "Village Voice", and prompted an almost immediate taped reply from Cleaver. The tape explained the reasons for the arrest, condemned L.S.D. as a revolutionary instrument and rejected white counter-culture mores (as typified by hippies Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman and also Allen Ginsberg) in general.

Referring specifically to Leary, Cleaver said on the tape, "... after many discussions with him on the subject of drugs and the relevancy of drugs, specifically L.S.D., acid, as a weapon in the revolutionary struggle, I've come to the conclusion that Dr. Leary is irrevocably wed to the idea of the beneficial aspects of L.S.D. in the context of the revolutionary movement and that he... would rather die than give up the idea of changing American society by dosing everyone with L.S.D.". Cleaver does not

indicate when and where these discussions occurred.

Later in the tape, after apologising for limited psychiatric expertise, Cleaver says "... It has become very clear to me that there's something seriously wrong with both Dr. Leary and his wife's brains.

"I attribute this to the multiple, the uncountable number of acid trips that Timothy and Rosemary Leary have taken... moreover... objectively, I find them both to be non-functional in a political context... and really we have grown to look upon them sort of as responsibilities that we have to take care of".

Applying these sentiments to the revolutionary struggle in the United States, Cleaver says elsewhere, "this (Leary's slogan or mantra 'Turn on, Tune in, Drop out') is in direct conflict with the needs of the American revolution, because we feel that we need people with clear heads; sober people who have their wits about them, because we're confronted with murderous fascist pigs who will stop at nothing.

"It's not realistic or serious to suggest that people try to deal with the situation in the United States by taking acid trips or other drugs or by being high at all in any way, shape, form or fashion.

Cleaver also said he recognized the progressive role that the drug culture had played in the past. "It was very useful some years ago when people rebelled against the straight-jacket rules and regulations of Babylon... but it is no longer useful to our struggle and it has to be stopped".

Two days after the bust, Michael Zwerin conducted an extensive "conversation" with Cleaver and Leary, asking questions and acting as moderator. During this discussion Cleaver explained that he was not fragmenting the movement in the States, but in fact the movement was already fragmented, and that a continuation of the whole 'trip' approach to the revolution would be self defeating. "Substituting magic words and magic drugs for cold, calculating confrontation with reality is an obstacle to the further development of the unification of the movement.

"... We no longer want to relate to that—for this reason we made it (the bust) public".

Timothy Leary's bust was made more as an example to illustrate the intention of the above statement than as retribution for any specific counter-revolutionary activity since his arrival in Algiers. In fact, Leary pointed out during Zwerin's discussion that during his stay he had made no pronouncements on drugs and that those who had stopped by to see him were more interested in his advice on making bombs than on questions concerning drugs.

Cleaver did make accusations against Leary regarding racism and a cavalier attitude towards security, but he divulged little information on their nature.*

Today Timothy and Rosemary Leary are ex-political prisoners, yet their affair with

the Panthers raises important questions concerning the nature of revolutionary justice, as opposed to "law and order", and also with what dedication and unity the American revolutionaries will proceed with their task.

Under the caption, "SO WHATS REVOLUTIONARY", the *Berkeley Barb* (Feb 5-11) editorialised: "One important question involves the meaning of a 'revolutionary bust'. Is a bust revolutionary just because a 'revolutionary' makes it? Or doesn't it involve... a concept of justice that must be made clear to all the people as well as to any person subject to it?

"Also, if it is to be applied, then must it not be applied with full opportunity for response and dissent, rather than arbitrarily?

In Babylon (U.S.A.), Tim Leary was summarily condemned for corrupting the youth. Shouldn't a revolutionary think doubly hard before using the same charges as the basis of a revolutionary bust?"

The *Barb* editorial concludes by inviting readers' comments on the affair and by posing the question, "Is slapping him down the most revolutionary way to help a brother?"

Only one sentence of the editorial makes specific reference to the 'acid in revolution' debate: "... if we don't want our potentially revolutionary people to be made into

acid robots for fascist imperialists why is it so much better, by some mystique like revolutionary love, they should become 'cool, calculating killing machines' (quoting Cleaver quoting Guevara) To be turned against the enemy?"

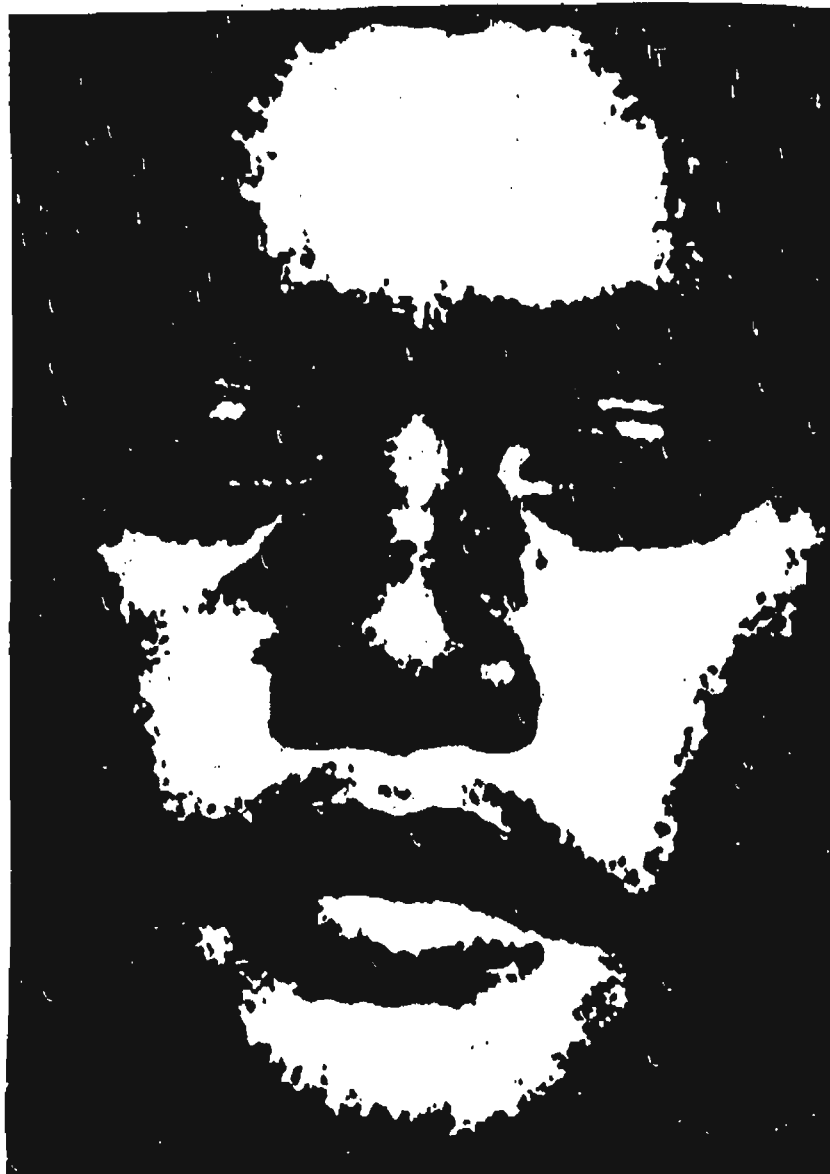
In Michael Zwerin's conversation with Leary and Cleaver, they both agree that it's fine "to be with your mate under a tree and be high"—but till then put the acid aside. Yet the affair that revealed this consensus indicates the beginnings of a hard line approach by many Panthers.

Last February 24, Cleaver spoke by overseas telephone line to Huey Newton in the States on a talk-back television programme and vehemently voiced his dissatisfaction with laxities in the Panther Party. He also urged that some members be purged from the Party, echoing the purges that followed the "Free Huey" campaign.

* One example of this was Cleaver's reference to the guests Leary had invited to dinner the night he was busted. Cleaver says Leary did not consult the Panthers regarding his guests, and that in the Panthers' position, this could be harmful to security.

Further in his taped statement, he claims that Leary said to his wife (about the bust), "They're just some niggers flexing their muscles".

ALAN DAVIES





OTHER RECENT GOODIES:

WHO—*Live at Leeds* (POLYDOR)

It's all there— *My Generation*, *Substitute*, *Summertime Blues*, and the 'Underture' from *Tommy*. Should surprise anyone who doubts the musicianship of this unique but often gimmicky group. Wot more need I say?

SANTANA—*Abraxas* (CBS)

If you liked their first album (*Santana*, CBS) then this one'll take you a while to get into. But for the Spanish-American rock group whose performance was the highlight of the film of *Woodstock* it's well worth the effort.

MOUNTAIN—*Mountain Climbing* (BELL)

Aiyeee! Son of Cream! Led by one Felix Pappalardi (bass, keyboards, vocals), Mountain sounds uncannily like a well-known rock group of yesteryear whose records that gentlemen used to produce. To remove all shadow of a doubt they even perform a Jack Bruce Pete Brown composition, which incidentally must be about the best that pair ever wrote—*Theme from an Imaginary Western*. Nevertheless, I enjoyed this L.P. immensely, even though I've harboured a grudge against Bruce, Brown and Pappalardi for two years as the ones who made the Cream go sour. Some good hard rock, especially on the first side—*Mississippi Queen* contains some nice Zeppelin noises—and a lot of good accoustic guitar on the second side (also a little reminiscent of Jimmy Page) in Leslie West's *To a Friend*. Mountain are a West Coast group, not English, and hence can be excused the occasional lapse of taste (*For Yasgur's Farm*, *Sitting on a Rainbow*). Pappalardi's bass and vocals sound like a poor man's Jack Bruce, and like guitarist Leslie West he avoids Cream's main fault, that of overstatement. It's in the music room—listen to it good and loud and you'll probably like it.

FREE—*Fire and Water* (ISLAND)

Three brilliant and four indifferent tracks seems to be a good average for a rock L.P. these days. This tight and bluesy English band are, from all accounts, brilliant on stage, and this at least comes through in the controlled quality of their studio improvisations, including one extended bass solo and a number of economic guitar solos. But aside from the guts and power of *All Right Now* and *Fire and Water* (hit singles overseas), and the slow melancholia of *Oh I Wept*, Free demonstrate a sad paucity of ideas which reflects the whole rock scene at the moment. Not as honest as the Rolling Stones, nor as pretentious as Led Zeppelin, but worth hearing anyway for a rock vocalist who can sing blues phrasings in key (!) and a guitarist who, unlike Alvin Lee and Ritchie Blackmore, knows that what you leave unsaid can be more effective than playing a lot of notes real fast.

GEORGE HARRISON—*All Things Must Pass* (APPLE triple album)

Easily the best solo album by an ex-Beatle, but that's not saying much. Pleasant, unassuming and unpretentious, but then I've always had a secret admiration for the guy who wrote *If I Needed Someone*, *Something*, *I Want to Tell You*—and now, *My Sweet Lord*, *Isn't it a Pity* and *If Not for You* . . . Let's hear it for the "silent Beatle"!

—CE S



Persian: jewellery, hand-prints, carpets, and antiques.
Reasonable prices—ph. 79 1839.
Miss Tammy.

THE OVERLOADED ARK
Ironsides Shopping Centre 71 3151

Indian and Hungarian Gear,
Jewellery, Paintings.

CLASSICAL

Tchaikovsky. 1812 Overture, Op. 49;
Rachmaninov. Three Russian Folk Songs,
Op. 41, Spring Cantata, Op. 20.

John Shaw, Ambrosian Singers, Ambrosian
Children's Chorus, Central Band of the
Royal Air Force, New Philharmonic Orches-
tra conducted by Igor Bukitoff. (R.C.A.
LSC-3051) \$5.95

There being so many versions of the 1812 available it is hardly surprising that someone else has attempted to present a different rendition. In this case Bukitoff has a chorus singing the hymn, children's folk song and Tsarist anthem on which the original themes were partly based. In fact, this is not totally original as both Fricay and Karajon have released versions with some of these chants sung, though not as complete as Bukitoff. Personal taste largely dictates when a new conception of something well known is heard. I found that it became more pleasant the more I heard it and whilst preferring the original I can understand that many would prefer this new version.

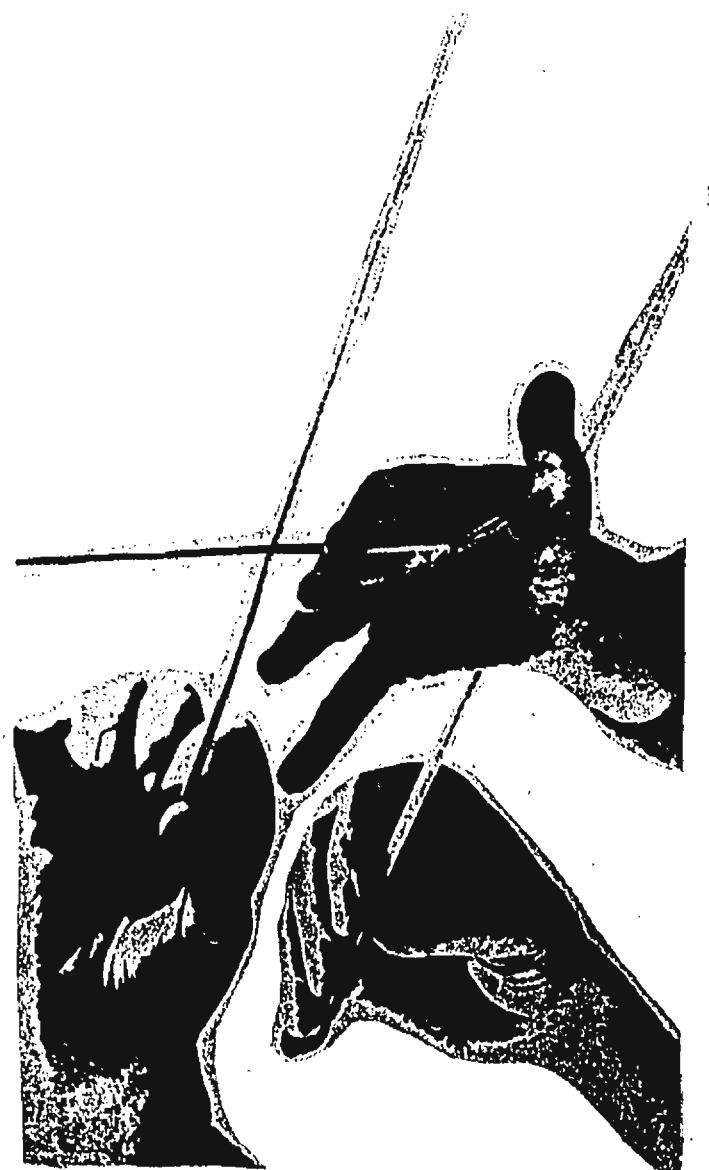
This recording was also electronically processed by overlaying authentic Russian church bells and cannon of the Royal Horse Artillery. The bells sounded little different to me but the cannon, whatever their authenticity, sounded very feeble compared to the more grand, if unauthentic, booms we are used to hearing.

The conducting of Buketoff was slow during the long opening passage and lacked excitement. In the vigorous climax the percussion and horns were allowed to drown out the strings, which becomes irritating when listening seriously, no matter how dramatic it sounds in demonstrating HI FI equipment.

The other side contains some music of Rachmaninoff which due to its short length is rarely heard. The longest piece the Cantata Spring tells of a peasant and his wife who are locked in their hut during the winter. The wife admits her infidelity, but despite her husband's continuing love for her he cannot forgive her. As the winter fury builds he plans to slay her. Then suddenly spring comes and melts his feelings. Despite the name it is the mood of winter that dominates. It is beautiful music excellently sung. John Shaw sounding very Russian with his rich baritone voice. The Ambrosians also sounding very much in character.

The three Russian Folk Songs contain pretty, melodious material. These are also based on Russian folk tales. The orchestra and chorus play with warmth and feeling. Surely short pieces like this would have been better than some of the orchestrations of pop tunes which Fiedler gave us with the Proms last month. The technical engineering of the record was of a high order but, as is frequent today, was counteracted by poor record surfaces. An enjoyable record which may end up being played more on the side other than the one for which it was bought.

J.B.



breath of death

"There is, I confess, a certain Idiosyncrasia in the Composition of some persons, which may fit and dispose them to thrive better in some Aers, than in other: But, it is manifest, that those who repair to Longon, no sooner enter into it, but they find a universal alteration in their bodies, which are either dried up or enflamed, the humours being exasperated and made apt to putrefie, their sensories and perspiration so exceedingly stopped, with the loss of appetite, and a kind of general stupefaction, succeeded with such catharrs and distillations, as do never, or very rarely quit them, without some further symptomes of dangerous inconveniency so long as they abide in the place: which yet are immediately restored to their former habit, so soon as they are returned to their Homes and enjoy the fresh Aer again."

The Inconvenience of the Aer, and Smoake of London Dissipated

John Evelyn, diarist, 1661.

A great many people, one finds, entertain the false belief that air pollution is a twentieth century phenomenon; a product of affluence and technology. Certainly, these factors have contributed their fair share to our problems, and their impact will no doubt increase as time passes, yet atmospheric pollution was readily apparent centuries before the advent of industrialization, as the quotation on this page serves to show.

Indeed, should we be asked to trace the origins of pollution, then we must say there never were any. Pollution has always been with us, has even preceeded our arrival, and it is only its nature that has changed. From the earliest times natural conditions led to the presence of contaminants: bushfires blazed, dust storms blew, and the exhalations of swamps and volcanic fumes filled the air. And where man dwelt the smoke from his home fires spiced the mixture.

The discovery of coal brought the second phase, and with coal smoke there were for company the contributions of brewers, dyers, lime burners and slat and soap boilers. But it is the explosion and expansion of population and industry that in our times have turned the nuisance to a menace, so that the mass media lavish their turgid imagery in portrayal of power houses belching clouds of soot, factories insidiously poisoning the environment with toxic gasses, dusts and aerosols, and the ubiquitous automobile blowing smoke rings down the freeways.

Pollutants group readily into three catagories according to their physical properties:

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| Gases | — An heterogenous group of substances derived principally from industrial processes and from vehicle exhausts. The group includes sulphur dioxide, carbon monoxide, the gaseous hydrocarbons and many more, its size being limited only by the measuring sensitivity of our instruments. |
| Liquids and Aerosols | — Minute particles of moisture which absorb surrounding gases, and to which are absorbed particulate solids. |
| Solids | — Dust particles, ashes, metallic dusts and other finely divided matter expelled by factories and vehicles, or stirred into the atmosphere by the wind. |

Primary pollutants are those substances which constitute the initial risk: they are, for instance, the unburnt hydrocarbons exhausted by internal combustion engines, the sulphurous fumes of smelting plants and the aerosol pesticides. Subsequent photochemical and physicochemical reactions may induce formation from them of a whole range of secondary pollutants, equally hazardous.

Consider, for illustration, the outcome of the catalytic activity of sunlight on a mixture of certain petroleum hydrocarbons, sulphur dioxide, and ozone. The oxidation product of this reaction, sulphur trioxide, is absorbed by minute water droplets in the

atmosphere and is changed chemically to sulphuric acid. Further reaction may occur to give sulphate salts, but more commonly the free acid species remains in the air until inhaled or precipitated gravitationally or by rain.

The harmful effects of such acid pollution are now becoming distressingly obvious in the wholesale destruction of marble statuary and sandstone and marble-clad buildings in the ancient cities of Europe. A cultural heritage of centuries is swiftly being dissolved away in rain over a few decades of intense industrialization. Furthermore, what cannot be accomplished by direct acid erosion is achieved by those remarkable bacteria, the *Theobacilli* *Theo-oxidous*. Thriving on the sulphurous fumes, these micro-organisms convert the sulphur derivatives to sulphuric acid, in which they are quite able to survive. Precipitation ultimately carries acidic wastes to the streams where they cause a slight though significant rise in water acidity. Most aquatic creatures are tolerant of acid conditions, yet pollution on the scale now being seen poses a real threat to those more susceptible. Salmon, in particular, are being menaced in those locations where industrial cities lie close by breeding grounds. The acid medium, it would seem, inhibits maturation of their fertilized eggs while those fry that do hatch shortly die. Full grown fish are, by contrast, capable of resisting the hostile environment.

Without doubt, the greater proportion of our atmospheric waste does not pass through this complex pathway. Moreover, even that which does, has prior existence as simple primary pollution. Thus we may survey the essential core of the problem by considering the major pollutants from this first group. Sulphur dioxide is a derivative of petroleum refining, the smelting of non-ferrous metals and the combustion of sulphur-containing fuels, yet these sources contribute only approximately 20% to the total atmospheric content. The remaining 80% arrives by conversion from hydrogen sulphide. Nature is very little implicated in the evolution of sulphur dioxide—volcanic emissions are the only major natural source. Man has,

however, become such an effective agent of its production that this gas is now probably ranked as man's worst air pollution problem. Historically, attempts to control sulphur dioxide pollution were made as early as 1,300 where a royal proclamation forbade the use of coal by the inhabitants of London. Sulphur, it was later realised, caused the noxious fumes, and so the relatively simple process of coking was developed to drive off this component. However, the practice of employing smokeless fuel for domestic purposes did not gain popularity with the people of London. From its original inception in the early seventeenth century until legislative action during the smoke abatement era of the nineteen-thirties at last forced its universal application, coke burning continued a poorly recognized substitute for the use of bituminous coal. Of recent times, Britain's clean air policy has once more run foul of industrial progress as the conversion to North Sea natural gas brings the closure of a rising number of coke-producing gas works. Smoke control has been suspended in several areas to permit householders to use available, alternative fuels.

The hydrocarbons involved in the photochemical reactions of sulphur dioxide are the residues from the incomplete combustion of petroleum fuels. Even the most efficient internal combustion engine exhausts 7% of its fuel intake as unburnt gases,—old, worn engines release a far greater proportion. Vehicle manufacturers, working feverishly under the threat of government legislation, are attempting to solve the problem by redesigning carburettors so as to produce a better mix of air and fuel, by substituting fuel injectors, or by fitting afterburners. Carbon monoxide, the highly toxic gas, has become the most frequently used suicidal tool, but as a threat to the health of populations, its danger is difficult to assess. The American Chemical Society suggests that more than 80% of global carbon monoxide emissions may be derived from motor cars and trucks. Chemically the gas is inert—it is not known to react with any constituent of urban air—yet it is not



accumulating in the atmosphere at a rate one would expect were it to lack a major sink. Perhaps it is disposed of by absorption and biological oxidation in the ocean, or perhaps it is absorbed and retained by plant life on land. So very much more research is required before we may hope to know the answer.

Lead functions as a constituent of the antiknock additives of petroleum where it is included as tetra-ethyl and tetra-methyl compounds. During combustion, organic scavengers, ethylene dichloride and dibromide react with the lead to ensure its efficient expulsion through exhaust systems. The effects of this element in the environment are the subject of considerable speculation. Conjecture rather than unequivocal evidence motivated the recent United States decision to legislate against leaded petrols. On the other hand, the toxic nature of lead has been thoroughly documented over a period of many years. Its ability to concentrate in animal tissues once resulted in kidney and eyesight damage to children who consumed flakes of lead paint, and case reports of occupational diseases caused by it occur regularly in medical literature. A noteworthy piece of research shows that there is a very high correlation between the lead concentration in the rainfall and sales of leaded petrol in regions where rain samples were taken. Whether the quantity of this element present in rain could ever lead to man receiving a toxic dose is not really known.

Scientists do not usually consider carbon dioxide a pollutant though enormous volumes of it are generated by the combustion of coal, oil and natural gas. Like the monoxide, it reacts to no significant extent with other substances in air; on the other hand, its natural pathways of degradation and formation are well understood. These involve both plants and animals as well as limestone and silicate rocks and the waters of the sea. What must interest us most about this gas is its unusual capacity for trapping the sun's heat. Global temperatures could, it is believed, be so changed by its increasing concentration as to markedly affect the world's climates. This theory has been popularly termed the "Greenhouse effect".

Once we leave the field of pure chemistry and begin to consider the nature of man's integrated habitat, two separate classes of pollution become evident. There is, firstly, the Los Angeles or smog-type pollution which is oxidizing in nature, consists largely of ozone, nitrous oxide, carbon monoxide and gaseous hydrocarbons, and results from climatic conditions interacting with vehicle exhaust gases. Photochemical reactions and frequently an air inversion can be its associated complications. Secondly, in London and New York extensive use of the fossil fuel, coal and oil, encourages formation of a reducing-type pollution whose essential ingredient is sulphur dioxide. Inversions are not at all as frequent in this instance, and as sideways movement of the air mass is not impeded pollutants may more readily disperse. Most large manufacturing communities duplicate the London and New York pattern.

The gentle afternoon sea breezes which render our urban experience bearable are the consequence of warm air convection currents. Heat conducted from the earth through the earlier part of the day warms the basal air layers. This air rises creating a low pressure region close to the ground. The seas do not conduct so much heat as the land so that sea air is cooler. Because of its consequent higher density it does not rise but rather moves in to restore the pressure equilibrium over the land. When cool air becomes insinuated between the ground and the warm air layers convection currents are halted and the situation is termed an air inversion. Such inversions may last hours or even days and are characteristic of certain geographical forms. Los Angeles, hemmed in by encircling hills, is notorious for the frequency of its regional air inversions. Still air entrapped in an inversion is extremely susceptible to all forms of pollution. Contaminants which can find no route for dispersal concentrate in the layer until convection currents are re-established.

Industrialized districts may suffocate in their blankets of filth-filled air, yet transfer surprisingly little to neighbouring agricultural districts. To explain this phenomenon scientists have developed the concept of the air shed. Writing in the "Urban Air Conservation" Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist (1961) John R. Goldsmith says "It is possible to think, plan, measure and act upon the existence of air sheds in somewhat the same way as we are learning to consider entire river basins as units in planning and conservation of water resources." Thus it is possible to plan for air usage by considering prevailing air patterns, shape of the terrain and the ceilings resulting from inhibition of vertical mixing—the three factors which determine air shed boundaries.

pesticides

In July 1962, one of the bitterest controversies the American scientific world has known, erupted from the pages of the "New Yorker" magazine. "Silent Spring", Rachel Carson's biting exposure of pesticide abuse had just been published in condensed and serialized form. The incredible desecration uncovered brought an immediate and clamorous response from scientists, agriculturalists, chemical manufacturers and the public across the nation. Even before the book was in hard covers the furore had reached government circles. Shortly it was to jump across the Atlantic, and become the topic of full debate in the British House of Commons.

But meantime, the targets, of Rachel Carson's wrath, the giant chemical manufacturers, closed ranks and began entrenching themselves behind a solid wall of mass media advertising. Teams of writers were marshalled to saturate science journals and newspaper with pseudo-factual articles describing the benefits and 'unquestionable' safety of pesticide application. Others were employed to investigate the private lives of conservationists who dared side with this 'female upstart' and publish every eccentricity found in order to undermine their credibility. The war of persuasion was on.

Already Velsicol Chemical Corporation, sole manufacturer of the persistent insecticides chlordane and heptachlor, had attempted unsuccessfully to suppress book publication of 'Silent Spring' by suggesting to Houghton Mifflin, its promoters, that arguments it contained were quite fallacious. They climaxed their attack with the subtle implication that the whole was a communist inspired plot designed to undermine the food industry. Houghton Mifflin consulted an independent toxicologist on the matter. The accuracy of each of the disputed passages was verified and the book appeared as planned.

The subsequent chronicle of government enquiry and report, continuing attack by agricultural and chemical interest, accumulation of further damning evidence and final vindication of 'Silent Spring' is far too voluminous to include here, but it may be traced through the pages of Frank Gardner Jr's book "Since Silent Spring" reviewed at the end of this supplement.

Through the nine years that have elapsed since "Silent Spring" a remarkable investigative effort has been mounted to define the

stability. A single spraying lasted for months. Only when potentially harmful characteristics of pesticides come to be more closely examined did DDT fall under suspicion, and finally from favour. In the meantime, however, it had been joined by a battery of new chemical weapons. Some of these, like dieldren, aldren and endren were quite as persistent as DDT and all were many times more toxic—of course, this was the reason they had been developed. The organophosphorus derivatives which in-

transfer these have been established. It was found that in waters containing DDT at 0.0005 parts per million zoo plankton had concentrated it to 0.04 ppm. Prawns which fed on the plankton showed a level of 0.16 ppm and small fish 1.25 ppm. Diving birds for which the small fish were prey carried 2.8 to 5.17 ppm, but seagulls accumulated even more—75.5 ppm.

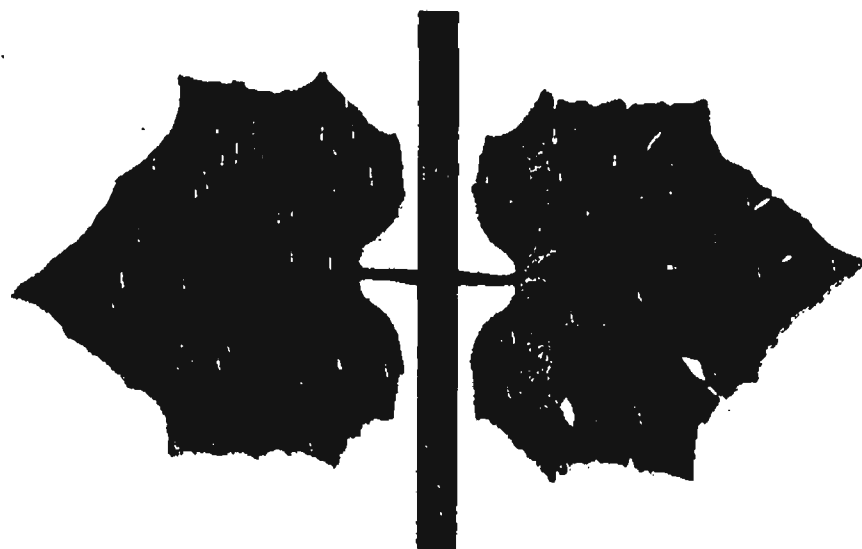
Another chain concentrates DDT through the leaves of elm trees. These, on dying, fall to the ground where they are eaten by earthworms. Robins complete the chain by digging up and eating the earthworms. Yet a third pathway extends through lake water, plankton and fish to the grebe. In a very similar manner we may follow the movement of dieldren, aldren, heptachlor and each of the other persistent toxicants as they thread their way through the web of life.

Each of these chemicals is insoluble in water but is readily dissolved in lipids. Because of this, they enter the fat stores and the specific organs, including liver, kidneys, adrenal glands, testes and thyroid which are rich in lipid. Here they remain unchanged for years.

Research has shown that DDT is slowly excreted, but the rate at which this takes place bears a direct relationship to the rate of intake in the diet. The slow acting dynamic equilibrium does not prevent the concentration in the fat stores from rising if there is an increase in dietary intake.

It is not the mere passage of pesticides from one creature to the next which represents the greater danger, nor even the fact that they resist biologic degradation. These are contributory factors, of course, but the feature which worries scientists most is that the chemicals increase in concentration each time they move one link further along the chain. To understand why this should occur we must remember that only 10% of available energy is ever passed from victim to predator. If we make a comparison in terms of weight, then for 10 gms. of stored fats to be turned to energy, 100 gms. of lipids must be engested to maintain body weight. Included in those 100 gms. will be a few micrograms of, say, DDT. In the digestive system DDT is readily absorbed, but now it finds itself dissolved in only 10 gms of lipid. That is, it has been concentrated ten times.

Now admittedly, this is a simplified account which takes no consideration of DDT excretion, or variations in absorption from species to species, nevertheless it gives us a fair idea of the processes involved. Because strict measures are taken to control pesticide levels in our own food, there has never been a case of human poisoning which could not be traced to a flagrant breach of safety instructions. However wild life and domestic animals have not been so fortunate. In one example which has been very fully documented, the robin population in Michigan was almost wiped out by a DDT spray programme conceived to eliminate the fungal Dutch elm disease. The same story has been repeated time and again with only the principal characters differing in each episode. Quail, salmon and bees take the place of the robin, and the efforts of home-gardeners and farmers sometimes



outcomes of pesticide saturation of environment. Although Rachel Carson did not live to see the fruits of this research (cancer led to her death in 1964), she must be credited with providing its initial impetus. The truth of her words has in greater part been proved, the remainder still awaits the test.

Looking on the whole episode in retrospect, we cannot fail but be shocked by the volumes of nonsense deliberately promulgated to benefit vested interests. It all bears a close resemblance to Alice's fairy-tale experiences in Wonderland. Pesticides have had an incredibly short history, considering their present ubiquity. DDT, the first of the chlorinated hydrocarbons was not recognized as an insecticide until 1939, though it had been first synthesized by a German chemist as early as 1874. World War II popularized the use of this chemical agent which offered rapidly effective insect control at a time when disease vector eradication was a matter of paramount importance. Soon it was being exploited for agricultural purposes as well, and there it found even greater application because of its inherent

cloded parathion and malathion were not so lasting as the chlorinated hydrocarbons but because of the non-specificity could be just as deadly for wildlife. A current list of known pesticides would now comprise several hundred variants of these two basic structures, as well as the carbonates, mercurials and arsenic derivatives, and finally the safe, degradable agents which have won approval from conservationists.

Paradoxically, the attributes which make pesticides such potent control agents are also those which render them harmful to non-target organisms. These are their remarkable toxicity (safety levels are measured in parts per million and parts per billion for whole groups of unrelated animals) and their long-lasting performance. Months after a spray programme has been completed residues will still be present in soil and vegetation and these may be picked up by scavenging creatures so finding their way into food chains and webs.

The complex interrelationship of animals, fish and birds along food chains are difficult to trace but in several instances of DDT

on environmental pollution compiled and written by Alistair Inglis.

prove more destructive than state-sponsored programmes.

Pollution caused by spraying is only one aspect of the pesticide menace. The other concerns disposal of the waste products from pesticide manufacture. Often the results of this type of pollution are more spectacular because they involve almost complete destruction of fish over wide areas. In November, 1963, a fish kill of extraordinary proportions was reported in the Mississippi in Louisiana. This was not a surprise event. Fish deaths had first been noticed in the late 1950's, and thirty large kills had been reported during the summer of 1960 alone. However, the 1963 slaughter was of such magnitude that federal assistance was requested to trace the cause.

All the fish appeared to be showing identical symptoms: haemorrhage, convulsions, surface swimming and loss of equilibrium. Many weeks of testing fish corpses, river water and sludge, eventually fixed blame on the chemical endrin, but there the mystery remained. Though endrin was used on sugar cane fields in the surrounding districts, spraying times did not appear to correspond with the fish kills. Moreover very little of the run-off from the cane fields actually drained into the Mississippi. The only logical conclusion that could be reached was that endrin was being washed into the Louisiana reaches of the river from a source further upstream.

In Memphis, Tennessee, Velsicol Chemical Corporation owned a plant which manufactured endrin (Endrin had been developed in Velsicol's laboratories). Efforts by the U.S. Public Health Service to have this plant tested for effluent corruption met with unusual hostility, but sampling was nevertheless carried out. In the neighbouring areas signs of endrin contamination were picked up, and one waste sewer was discovered which drained by a circuitous route into the Mississippi. A schedule of round-the-clock surveillance of the Velsicol discharges was instituted. Peaks of contamination which were recorded at first soon began to disappear. Velsicol never admitted responsibility for either the fish kills or the pollution, but both strangely disappeared after the Public Health Service monitoring began.

Some short time later the management of Velsicol changed hands and the attitude towards government instrumentalities changed from one of antagonism to one of co-operation. The kills never recurred. Pesticides have been extolled for their proficiency in eradicating so many economically ruinous plagues. DDT was used against just about every imaginable type of pestilence until some 150 species of insect grew resistant to it. Synthetic replacements, such as dieldrin and aldrin were soon developed to fill the gap, and the field was enlarged to include the herbicides 2,4,D and 2,3,5,T, the rodenticide sodium fluoracetate, more usually known as compound 1080, and a host of other chemical agents. Often times the research which preceded marketing of these potent toxins was directed only towards finding safety levels which would meet with government approval, and ensuring a maximum lethal effect on target

organisms. Very seldom were the consequences for unrelated, harmless creatures ever examined.

A massive fire—and programme was launched by the U.S. Department of Agriculture throughout Louisiana, 1957. This was backed up by salvos of government propaganda in the form of press releases, newspaper articles and films. The insecticides used were dieldrin and heptachlor. In the slaughter of wild life that followed, the natural enemy of the sugar cane borer fell innocent victim to heptachlor. Farmers were shocked to find their cane crops being torn to pieces by borer which now multiplied to plague proportions. Poisoning is the best recognised sign of pesticide misapplication, but other effects

are also known. DDT and its analogues are known to reduce the fertility of birds as well as causing them to lay thin-shelled eggs. These eggs are very easily smashed by the hen's weight during incubation. Carcinogenic properties have been attributed to DDT, chlordane and lindane (a chemical used in home vaporizers) but these claims are very far from proved. Sublethal doses of pesticide will produce such clinical symptoms as dizziness, headache, depression and unconsciousness. Gastro intestinal disorders may also result.

"Silent Springs" concluding chapter bore the title "The Other Road". It was Rachel Carson's plea for a reasoned approach to pest control. Not all pesticides are harmful to man and wildlife and not all control

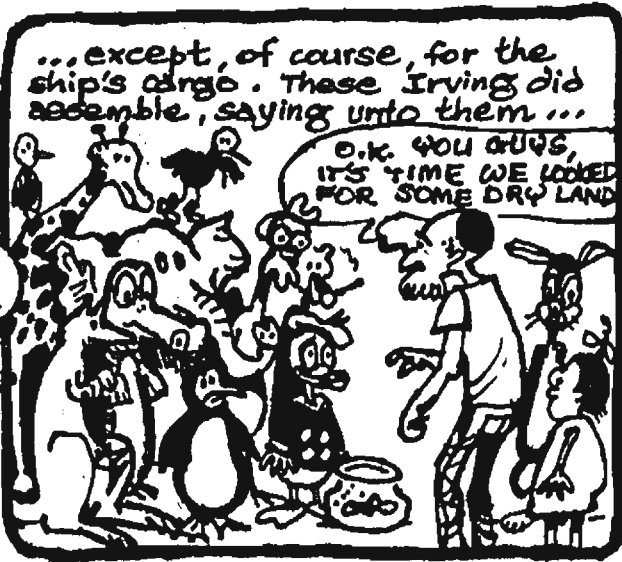
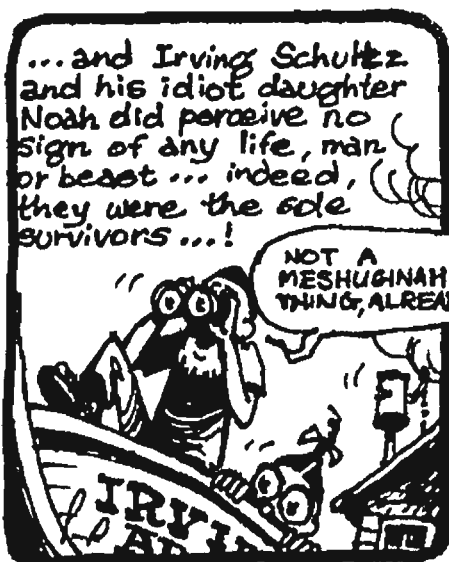
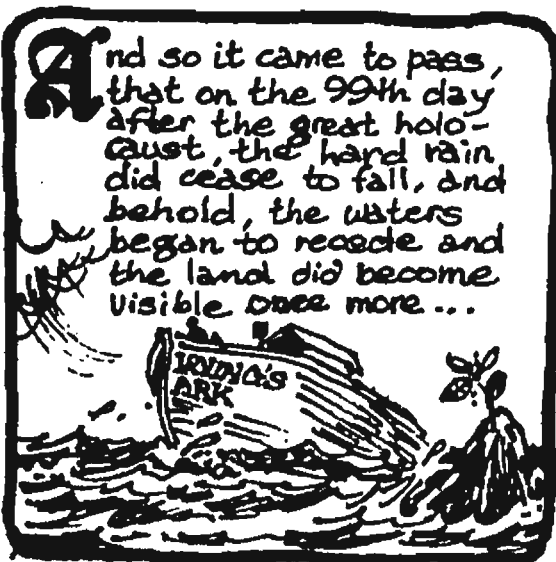
measures depend on chemical agents. Pyrethrum, an extract from the chrysanthemum flower, is typical of the 'safe' insecticides which were used in prewar days and are still available. Synthetic pesticides are now being developed which are so specific that they attack only the target organism. The field of biologic control offers exciting possibilities because it can mean the complete eradication of pest species—an ideal pesticides never achieve. A well-proved method is to release large numbers of sterilized insects among the natural population. These compete with the unsterilized insects for matings. The key to success here is to use very large numbers of the sterilized males. For this reason a successful programme is also expensive. The apparent expense is, however, the only expense so that in the long run the cost may be far less than that of pesticide use.

Importation of natural predators into infested areas has been employed on many occasions, perhaps not with the spectacular results of sterilization, yet certainly quite successfully. Once again the high cost has told against its wider application.

The use of sex attractant as a lure in traps is another novel scheme that is being proved to have merit.

Monoculture has become the rule of agricultural practice. This is in stark contrast to nature where we see that ecological stability rests in diversity. One creature preys on another which is, in turn, the predatory of a third. By this self-regulating mechanism no species is allowed to dominate the environment. Perhaps, then, the reason why we are so plagued by pests is that we are seeking to grow too much of one thing in one place.





As usual, the animals had no choice in the matter... So off they did go in search of some sign of dry land, or some indication that somehow, somewhere, some living being did still live upon the face of the earth...

